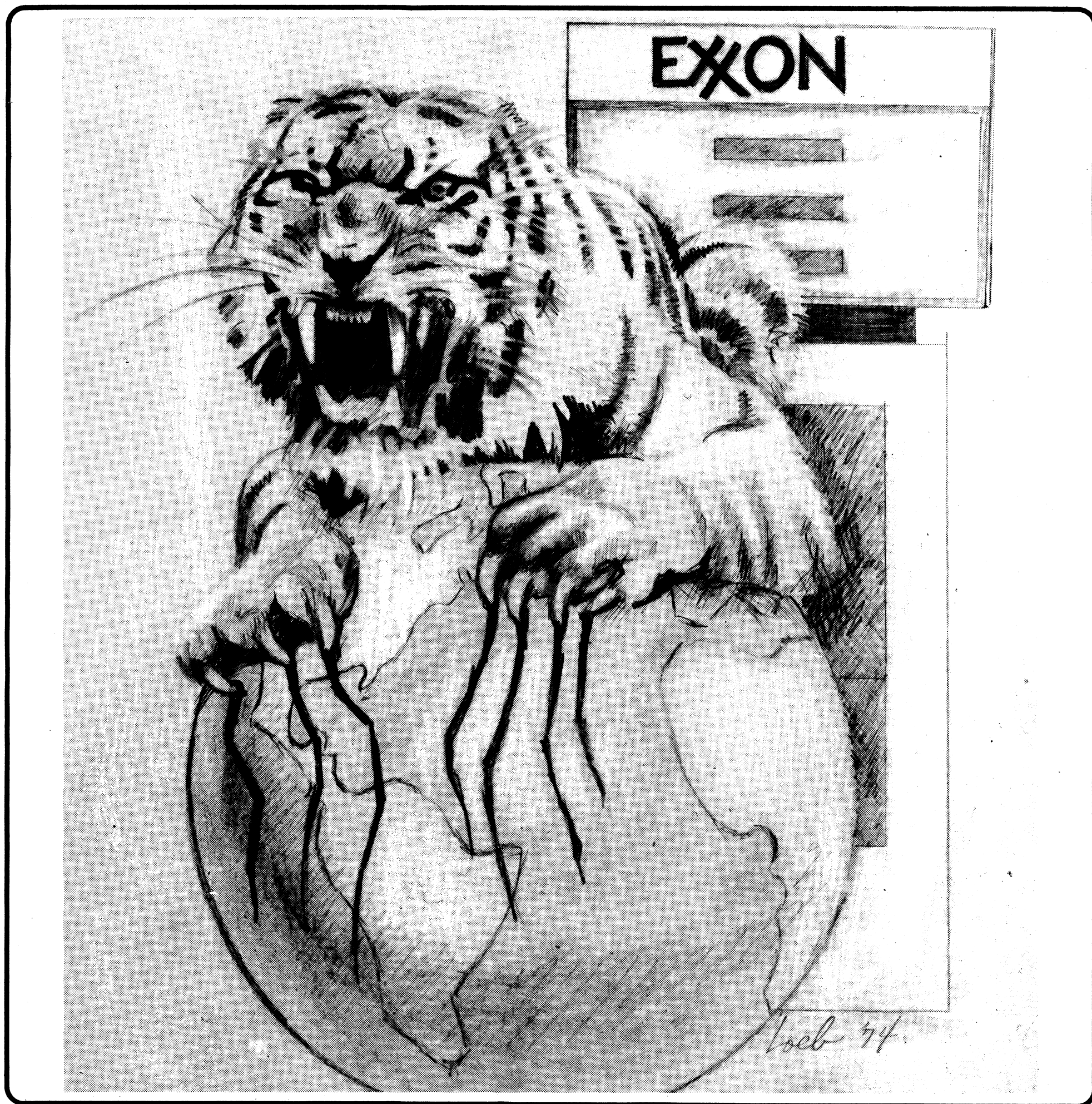


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Oil barons on profit rampage

—pages 16, 17



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THE MILITANT

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NEWSLETTER REPORTS ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA: The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has just published the latest issue of its newsletter, **USLA Reporter**. This issue centers on political repression in Chile.

The cases of seven prominent political activists in Chile are highlighted. These are: Luis Corvalan Lepe, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; Luis Vitale, a Marxist scholar and leader of the Fourth International; Juan Flandes, accused of being head of guerrilla activity in southern Chile; Jaime Barrios, a member of the Chilean Socialist Party and an economic adviser to Allende; Hector Gutierrez, a professor at the University of Chile and a member of the central committee of the Chilean section of the Fourth International; Guillermo Cahn, a film director; and Marcelo Romo, a well-known Chilean actor.

Single copies of the newsletter cost 25 cents. Single copies and bundles of the **USLA Reporter** can be ordered from USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 702, N. Y., N. Y. 10010.

MIDWEST CHICANOS TO DISCUSS IMMIGRATION: Los Desarraigados, a Chicano movement newsletter published in Indiana, announced in its December issue that a conference on the policies of the Immigration Department will be held in Chicago Jan. 18-20. The conference is being sponsored by the Illinois Raza Unida Party.

Bert Corona, of CASA-Hermandad in Los Angeles, will be the featured speaker. According to Los Desarraigados, other nationally known leaders concerned with the question of immigration are also being invited.

The conference will be held at the Illinois Raza Unida Party headquarters, 1859 S. Throop, Chicago, Ill. 60608. For more information call (312) 733-4972.

MICHAEL X WINS STAY OF EXECUTION: Michael Abdul Malik (Michael X) was to have been hanged Nov. 12. A worldwide protest forced the government of Trinidad to grant a temporary stay while the Trinidad Mercy Commission studies his sentencing.

Abdul Malik, a political activist in Trinidad, was framed for the murder of two whites in 1971.

In light of the intensity of political repression in Trinidad (for example, demonstrations are illegal), the international support given to Abdul Malik was crucial.

Among those who have protested Michael X's sentence are: Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Amnesty International, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National Lawyers Guild, and American PEN, an association of 1,200 American writers.

'DAYS OF RAGE' CASE DISMISSED: U. S. District Court Judge Julius Hoffman on Jan. 3 dismissed the indictment against 12 members of the "Weatherman" faction of SDS charged with leading the "Days of Rage" actions in Chicago in 1969. The case was dismissed because of the use of electronic surveillance without a court order.

Hoffman, who presided over the trial of the "Chicago Seven," acted on a prosecution request. He said, in light of the Supreme Court ruling barring use of electronic surveillance without a court order, "the government's motion cannot be resisted."

Last October the government dropped its charges against 15 Weatherpeople in a federal court in Detroit, in order to avoid revealing how the government obtained its evidence. Federal District Court Judge Damon Keith had ordered the government to disclose whether it had used sabotage, burglaries, wiretapping, agents provocateurs, or other "espionage techniques" against the Weatherpeople.

The dismissal of this latest indictment is further proof that domestic spy operations, revealed in the Watergate investigations, are used extensively against radicals in the U. S.

THOUSANDS DEMAND FREEDOM FOR WANSLEY:

The Black community in Lynchburg, Va., is rallying in defense of Thomas Wansley. According to the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), more than 1,200 Blacks, and some whites, attended a meeting the first week of January to demand that Virginia Governor Linwood Holton grant Wansley a pardon. This action came after Governor Holton received, last December, more than 15,000 signatures on petitions demanding Wansley's release.

In 1962 Wansley was framed up in Lynchburg on charges of raping a 59-year-old woman and robbing her of \$1.37.

DEATH PENALTY PROTESTED: Vernon Leroy Brown, Bobby Hines, and Jesse Lee Walston, all Black, were sentenced to death last December in Tarboro, N. C. The three men were framed up on charges of rape.

About 200 Blacks demonstrated to protest the sentencing and to demand an end to capital punishment. Among speakers at the rally following the march was Golden Frinks, state field secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

UNITED FARM WORKERS I: Two important solidarity caravans to aid striking farm workers were organized in southern California just before the Christmas holidays.

The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, organized a caravan of 350 people, most of them trade unionists. More than 100 cars took food, toys, and cash donations to strikers in Delano.

In addition to the food \$3,000 in cash donations was also turned over to strikers.

A separate four-county caravan traveled to Calexico near the Mexican border to aid the striking workers in the Imperial Valley.

The AFL-CIO in Orange County and Chicano and other student groups in Riverside, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties organized this joint effort.

In both Calexico and Delano, farm workers greeted their supporters with huge, enthusiastic rallies. About 1,000 farm workers attended each one.

UNITED FARM WORKERS II: On Dec. 15, 500 people in San Diego participated in a demonstration to show their support for the Gallo wine boycott. The five-mile march went through the downtown area and the Chicano community. The demonstrators stopped at 11 liquor stores along the way demanding that they remove Gallo wines. Six of these stores pledged to do so.

In the Midwest, the UFW Support Committee of St. Cloud, Minn., successfully knocked down a court injunction against their picketing the PX liquor store. As the result of their pickets, the store has been forced to remove Gallo wines from its shelves. The St. Cloud support committee feels that other liquor stores will soon follow suit.

'TEAMSTER REBELLION' IN JAPANESE: Farrell Dobbs's dramatic account of the organizing drive of the Teamsters and the 1934 Minneapolis strikes, *Teamster Rebellion*, has been translated into Japanese. The book was reviewed in a recent issue of *Sekai Kakumei* (World Revolution), newspaper of the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League, the Japanese section of the Fourth International.

The reviewer said the book was "not just a history but an important book for today's struggle." He went on to say that the book clarifies "the difference between the party and the labor movement." The writer said that *Teamster Rebellion* was must reading for young Japanese workers who wanted to know "how to deal with union bureaucrats and 'leftist' governors."

MENTAL HEALTH CARE CUTBACKS PROTESTED:

Thirty-five people picketed outside the Illinois Department of Mental Health Dec. 19 in response to the layoff of 101 employees at the Chicago Reed Mental Health Center. The layoffs are being accompanied by a reduction in public mental health facilities. The cutbacks contradict Democratic Governor Daniel Walker's campaign pledge not to lay off any direct care employees. Several of the picketers, having campaigned for Walker, expressed their anger at his maneuvering.

Major sponsors of the demonstration were the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Mental Health Coalition. — NORMAN OLIVER

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Young Socialists map fight against Watergate gang, plan expansion of revolutionary mov't



By ANDY ROSE

CHICAGO—The thirteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held here Dec. 28-Jan. 1, did not escape the effects of the fuel shortage. As temperatures plummeted in the convention hall, delegates and guests sat shivering through the final sessions.

But there was no energy crisis among the 900 convention participants, who began their deliberations early each morning and continued discussions, panels, and workshops late into the night.

This convention took up three main areas of discussion:

- The issues now under debate in the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization;
- The program of the YSA, its analysis of the current radicalization and its orientation to unfolding struggles; and
- The tasks for building the YSA in the next year.

Preconvention discussion

The convention was preceded by a three-month period of extensive and democratic discussion throughout the ranks of the YSA. This included oral discussion in all local chapters and circulation of a discussion bulletin open to all YSA members.

The outgoing national executive committee submitted a political resolution outlining its perspectives for the YSA.

Some members declared a political tendency in opposition to the positions of the national leadership and presented documents in support of their views.

In this discussion a total of 11 bulletins with 72 different contributions were printed—by far the most voluminous written discussion since the YSA was founded in 1960.

YSA members also received the discussion bulletins of the Fourth Inter-

national. Although the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party are prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliation to the Fourth International, they are in political solidarity with the International and participate actively in the discussions of the world Trotskyist movement.

At the end of the preconvention period, delegates were elected from each local chapter in proportion to the number of members voting for the different political positions advanced. A total of 111 delegates from 52 chapters were elected—104 who supported the national leadership's positions, and seven who supported the minority tendency.

Further discussions were held at the convention itself. The minority presented counterreports to the national executive committee's international, political, and Black struggle reports. All of the national executive committee reports were adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The high political caliber of the discussions was testimony to the YSA's development of revolutionary cadres from the many radicalizing young people who have joined its ranks in recent years.

Reporting for the national executive committee on international questions were Geoff Mirelowitz, who discussed the worldwide youth radicalization, and Andrew Pulley, who dealt with the major issues being debated within the Fourth International. (See articles on pages 6-7.)

Pulley spoke on the perspectives for revolutionists in Latin America, evaluating the role of guerrilla warfare and the experiences of the Trotskyist forces in Bolivia and Argentina. He also took up questions of how to build the revolutionary movement in Europe, such as the best methods of winning to Trotskyism the emerging layers of radicalized students and young workers.

Current radicalization

Rich Finkel presented the political report for the national executive committee. Finkel noted that the current period is one of fewer large demonstrations than at the height of the antiwar movement. However, he said, the deep-going radicalization of youth, Blacks, Chicanos, and women has not subsided or been reversed.

The central contradiction of the current radicalization, Finkel said, is the long delay in the entrance of the masses of workers into political struggle, although many workers have already been affected by radical ideas. The coming mass struggles of the working class will take place around both economic questions and

the broad social and political questions already raised by other movements.

Finkel said revolutionists must participate in all the varied forms of the class struggle as they unfold, raising demands and tactics that can lead the struggles forward and develop the political awareness of those in struggle.

He cited a few examples of struggles the YSA has been involved in recently: in New York, the fight for Puerto

Nine hundred delegates and guests attended the Young Socialist national convention, coming from 32 states. The largest representation was from New York, 166; California, 115; and Illinois, 101.

Almost one-half were 22 years old or younger. Three hundred and seventy were students, including 43 high school and two junior high school students. Five hundred and fifty had full- or part-time jobs; 140 were union members.

Rican, Black, and Chinese control of District 1 schools: in Berkeley, a successful high school struggle against a plan to put cops in the schools; in Chicago, the Sept. 8 demonstration against inflation and unemployment; and in Seattle, defense of the rights of campus workers.

New issues, opportunities

Finkel said issues such as Watergate, inflation, cutbacks in social spending, and the energy crisis are sparking new expressions of discontent and posing new opportunities for socialists.

Along with participating in day-to-day struggles, he said, the YSA must strive to reach the greatest number of people with socialist ideas and win them to the socialist perspective and to joining the YSA.

Finkel concluded, "This job of recruiting, educating, and assimilating cadres is the most important job we can do to prepare now for the major class battles that lie ahead."

The organization report, presented by Delfine Welch, mapped out a three-sided socialist campaign to take advantage of these new openings. It includes the socialist offensive against the Watergate gang, socialist election campaigns, and expanded sales of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

The national executive committee report on the Black struggle, presented by Malik Miah, reaffirmed the YSA's position that the coming American revolution will combine the working-class fight for socialism and the struggle of Black people for self-determination.

The YSA supports the revolutionary dynamic of the struggle for Black liberation, and calls for the formation of a mass independent Black political party to carry the Black struggle forward on the political arena.

The convention also included special presentations on the YSA and SWP's plans for fighting back against Watergate attacks, given by Jim Little; on the women's liberation movement, given by Sally Whicker; and 17 panels and workshops on other YSA activities.

Whicker discussed the wide range of struggles by women in which the YSA has been involved. Fights to implement the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion have taken place in several cities.

In San Francisco, the YSA has been active in a struggle to defend child-care facilities threatened by budget cuts. Other important issues have been the Equal Rights Amendment; the demands of trade-union women; Black women's liberation; and sex discrimination on campus.

A well-attended panel on trade-union struggles was organized in collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party.

Speakers included activists in the Teachers, Steelworkers, and Hospital workers unions; the United Farm Workers boycott; and the recent trade-union women's conferences.

Reports were also given on the United Mine Workers convention, and on a number of recent strikes in Northern California.

The final order of business for the convention was the election of the incoming national committee, the highest leadership body of the YSA between conventions. It includes leaders from around the country, active in many different facets of the YSA's work.

At this convention a number of new YSA leaders were added to the committee. The convention also decided to place several members of the minority tendency in the YSA on the national committee so their views would be represented on the committee.



Convention discussion showed development of YSA cadres.

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Delegates set drive to spread

By ANDY ROSE

In beginning the organization report to the recent Young Socialist national convention, Delfine Welch commented:

"On top of giving us a former vice-president who is a convicted felon, and a president masses of people believe is a lying crook, the American capitalists now tell working people that there is no oil to heat their homes and no gas to run their cars.

"We socialists are the only ones who have the answers to the questions raised by Watergate and the energy crisis. These crises, along with international events like the coup in Chile and the Mideast war, are undermining confidence in the capitalist system and

making socialism a valid and realistic alternative to more people than ever before."

Welch proposed an aggressive program of activities—including socialist election campaigns, expanded sales of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers, and the socialist offensive against the Watergate gang—to reach millions of people with the socialist answers to these and other problems facing masses of workers and students.

Her report, which was approved by the convention, said these activities will be the central task of the YSA in the coming year.

Welch compared the YSA and SWP's offensive against the Watergaters to the 1972 SWP presidential election campaign, saying that it offered similar opportunities for getting out socialist speakers and literature all over the country.

She said, "The job of the YSA is to explain who the Watergaters are—the capitalists; who the victims are—the working class; and what our alternative is—a workers government."

Last fall four national leaders of the YSA—Maceo Dixon, Norman Oliver, Olga Rodriguez, and Roberta Scherr—toured the country speaking on "Watergate: The Socialist Strategy for Fighting Back." Through their tours, Welch reported, 40 people decided to join the YSA.

"During the past year," Welch said, "the YSA has done an outstanding job of circulating the revolutionary press. Adding together all the *Militants* and *Young Socialists* sold in 1973 by the YSA locals, SWP branches, and

traveling teams, we have gotten out more than 321,000 papers. That is triple the number of socialist newspapers we sold in all of 1972."

Last fall the YSA successfully completed a sales drive to increase the number of *Young Socialists* sold to 10,000 per month. Average sales for the larger YSA chapters increased 44 percent from the spring, and the number of YSAers regularly participating in sales increased.

"We've come a long way since the paper was launched in its new format just over one year ago," Welch said.

The convention approved a spring sales drive to further increase YS sales to 11,000 per month. Special emphasis will be placed on selling at high schools, which was begun in several areas last fall.

In addition YSA members helped carry out successful sales and subscription drives for *The Militant*. Welch reported that *The Militant* would continue to emphasize street-corner sales this spring, with a sales drive to reach 10,000 copies sold per week.

In the spring a short subscription drive will aim to get 7,500 new subscribers for *The Militant* and 1,200 for the *International Socialist Review*, with emphasis on selling to political activists.

In 1974 every branch of the Socialist Workers Party will be running candidates for federal and state office. The convention voted to throw the YSA's forces into building support for these campaigns. In many areas YSA members will be candidates on the SWP ticket.

Welch said the YSA's regional net-

works of members and local chapters would enable it to campaign widely throughout each state. The 14 Young Socialist traveling teams will also campaign for the SWP candidates.

Another focus of YSA campaign work will be the high schools. "During the 1973 mayoral campaign of Maceo Dixon in Detroit," Welch said, "the YSA made a list of teachers interested in socialism and systematically called them asking to speak before their classes. Then we asked those teachers about any others they knew who would also be willing to have socialist speakers."

The YSA also runs candidates for high school and college student governments. These Young Socialist candidates present the YSA's positions on national and international political issues and relate them to campus problems and other issues directly affecting students. Welch reported that 21 YSA members currently hold seats in student governments.

Welch emphasized the connection between the YSA's participation in the struggles of the oppressed as they develop and these socialist propaganda activities.

"Our *Militant* and YS sales, our literature sales, our election campaigns, our forums, will be much of our work on the energy crisis, our Mideast work, our Chile work, our farm workers support work, our anti-inflation work, and our Watergate work," she said.

"It will be the central way we can intervene with our socialist analysis on all these issues and events of the class struggle and win new members for the revolutionary movement."



Militant/Bill Hutton

Convention set spring goal of selling 11,000 *Young Socialists* monthly.

Rally hails fight against Watergaters

By MIRTA VIDAL

CHICAGO—An enthusiastic crowd of nearly 1,000 attended a rally here Dec. 31 as part of the Young Socialist national convention. The theme was the fight against the politics of Watergate—that is, capitalist politics.

Olga Rodriguez, a Young Socialist Alliance leader and the 1973 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, chaired the rally.

"More and more people," she said, "are looking for a real political alternative to the Watergate methods of the two political parties that have brought this country to the crisis we now face. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party will be posing that alternative in 1974."

Ed Heisler, a member of the United Transportation Union and the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, was the first speaker.

Heisler pointed to the need for working people to take control of the economic and political system into their own hands. The first step, he said, would be "to call a congress of the entire labor movement and its allies to work out a plan of action to fight the effects of the energy crisis, inflation, and unemployment." Such a congress, he said, could lay the basis for the formation of a mass, independent labor party.

Heisler concluded by urging support for the 1974 SWP election campaigns.

The gathering then heard greetings from Andrés Carranza, assistant organizer of the United Farm Workers



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Nearly 1,000 attended rally at Young Socialist convention

in Illinois. "Your support," Carranza said, "gives us the strength to continue fighting for something we believe is right." After Carranza spoke, the rally approved with thunderous applause a message of support from the YSA convention to the United Farm Workers.

The next speaker, Christina Adachi, symbolized the expansion of the YSA and SWP into new areas of the country. Adachi is a member of the recently established Pittsburgh YSA and

was SWP candidate for city council there last fall.

She described how she came to join the socialist movement after becoming disillusioned with the Democratic Party through her experience working for Shirley Chisholm's 1972 campaign.

The featured speaker was Maceo Dixon, a YSA leader and SWP candidate for mayor of Detroit last year. Dixon is a plaintiff in the YSA and SWP's suit against the Nixon administration.

"The secret FBI documents that have been uncovered," Dixon said, "expose the government's plan to destroy our movement and all the movements for social change. That's what the Watergate suit is fighting against."

"Many people are beginning to see who the real Watergaters are—not just one man, but a whole social class that presently holds the power and the wealth in this country."

Dixon pointed out that the Watergate revelations have bred growing skepticism and distrust in the government and the corporations. And now, he said, their contrived energy crisis is threatening to backfire. Millions of people, instead of being willing to sacrifice their standard of living, are putting the blame for the crisis right where it belongs—on the profiteering oil trusts. "The recent militant truckers' actions reflect a mood in this country," he said.

"All around the world," Dixon continued, "there is a radicalization; there is ferment; there are revolts and uprisings. And the YSA is going to continue to be part of that."

Fred Halstead, SWP presidential candidate in 1968, wound up the rally with an appeal for funds to help put 14 Young Socialist traveling teams on the road this spring. The teams will sell socialist newspapers, build support for the Watergate offensive, and campaign for socialist candidates.

More than \$5,000 was pledged or contributed at the rally to help make this project possible.

socialist ideas, defend rights

The following are excerpts from a speech on the socialist offensive against Watergate presented to the Young Socialist national convention by Jim Little. Little is a member of the YSA national executive committee.

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party have been a prime target for attack by the Watergate gang.

Our headquarters have been bombed, shot at, and burned out by armed right-wing terrorists in league with the government. Our phones are tapped. The FBI tampers with our mail and sends agents and informers into our ranks. Our homes and offices are broken into by government agents.

We have to defend ourselves against politically inspired frame-ups of our members and candidates, like in San Diego where they're trying to railroad Salm Kolis to jail.

We have launched a major nationwide campaign to defend ourselves—a campaign to defend our right to

in the 1950s we fought back against the witch-hunters by defending the civil liberties of James Kutcher. Kutcher, a veteran who had lost both his legs during World War II, was fired from his job for being a member of the SWP. This case lasted eight long years and was finally won.

In 1963 three members of the Bloomington, Ind., YSA were arrested for "plotting to overthrow the government of the state of Indiana"—because they attended a meeting where a national leader of the YSA spoke on the Black struggle! That sounds preposterous today, but the case was deadly serious.

The victory in this case marked a major step in the development of the YSA. We set an example for the developing student movement of how to defend democratic rights, and many young radicals were first drawn around the YSA because we showed the willingness and the ability to fight back against the government.

Another historic fight

The YSA and SWP's offensive against the Watergaters is an unprecedented opportunity for us—another historic fight.

Watergate has set into motion a process by which millions of people are becoming aware of the antidemocratic character of the government. Our job is to deepen this process.

Our offensive will expose the Watergate-style attacks as products of capitalist class rule. We explain that because the capitalists rule as a minority, against the interests of the majority, they *must* rule through secrecy, lies, and infringement of civil liberties.

So far we have just gotten this campaign off the ground. We have launched the court suit and begun gathering the broad support and organizing the massive publicity that is going to make all the difference.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which we helped initiate, is organizing support for the suit. The PRDF already has more than 1,000 endorsers, including unions, union officials, student governments, civil liberties groups, and prominent individuals. But these only scratch the surface of the kind of broad support we can achieve.

The PRDF has raised thousands of dollars for legal expenses and publicity—but this is only a start.

The PRDF national tours last fall point the way for the kind of hearing and support we can win. The PRDF representatives spoke directly to more than 4,000 people on the tours. They had 95 campus and high school meetings, 53 radio interviews, and 11 television spots.

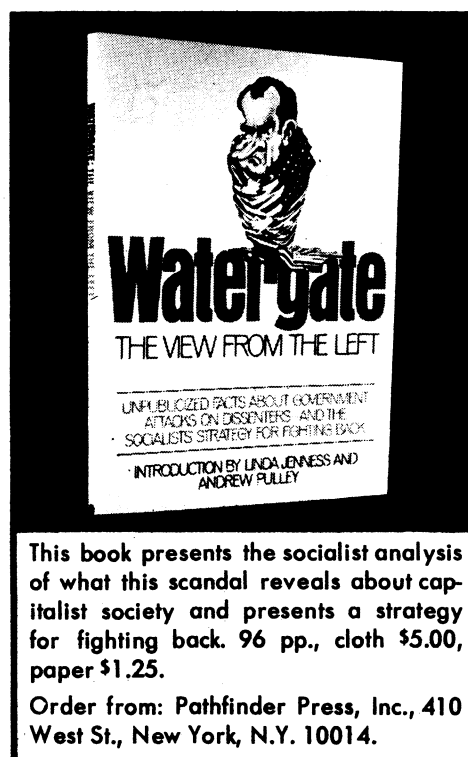
Activities planned

People are genuinely shocked when they hear the facts about our case—when they find out all the ways the government has victimized us. Their reaction is to come to our defense.

One of the most important components of our campaign is to draw such people into action along with us.

- We want to help the PRDF step up the sponsor drive, getting more endorsements and requesting contributions from Black organizations, student governments, unions, and individuals who are not necessarily prominent figures.

- We want to speak *everywhere* about this case—campus forums, high school classes, clubs, Black groups, unions, women's groups—and we



should involve others in setting up these meetings.

- We can set up literature tables on the campuses and in the communities.

- We can link up with local defense cases and organize united meetings where they present their case and we present ours.

- We also want to draw in other political groups, like the Communist Party and groups working for impeachment, for symposiums on Watergate.

Views as socialists

Along with the civil liberties aspect of the Watergate offensive, our other central task is the explanation of our views as socialists. People want to know what the YSA is, what are our ideas, why does the government attack us? All YSAers are plaintiffs, and we should all speak for this case.

On the literature tables we should have the book *Watergate: The View from the Left*, with our socialist analysis of Watergate.

This is how we conducted defense cases of the past. The main weapon of the Minneapolis defense was James P. Cannon's book *Socialism on Trial*. The main book of the Kutcher de-

fense was *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, in which Kutcher explains why he is a socialist. These books should be on our tables, too.

We intend to launch national speaking tours of YSA and SWP spokespersons, including Maceo Dixon. We can approach these tours like we did the Jenness and Pulley campaign tours in 1972, and tie this fight in with the statewide SWP election campaigns. SWP candidates will be central speakers on the Watergate suit. The same is true for YSA student government candidates.

We want to make this point to people: that it is the socialists, the Black militants, the labor movement, the student activists, who are the main victims of Watergate.

We also point out that it is possible to fight back against the Watergaters, and we are the group that's doing it. They should join in this defense effort, and if they agree with us they should join the YSA.

One of the FBI "COINTELPRO" directives on their secret plans to "disrupt" and "neutralize" the left devoted a whole section to whipping up their agents. It said:

"The organizations and activists who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained, but must be neutralized. Law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive. Therefore, you must approach this new endeavor with a forward look, enthusiasm and interest in order to accomplish our responsibilities."

We approach this fight against the antidemocratic attacks of the government from the perspective of our class, the working class, and the oppressed nationalities and all the oppressed of capitalist society.

We see the exposure of the attacks on our rights as an opportunity to advance the interests of the working class and the revolutionary socialist movement. We can score victories that will aid the entire working class.

Therefore we will approach this new endeavor—the Watergate offensive—"with a forward look, with enthusiasm and interest." And this will be an important step in accomplishing our historic responsibilities.



Demonstrations and teach-ins against Watergate provide opportunity to win support for socialist suit.

exist and carry out political activity with full legality. Our court suit against the Watergaters is one vehicle in this campaign.

In addition, we have the opportunity to go on the *offensive* against the capitalist government, which stands weakened and exposed because of the Watergate crisis.

We intend to go forward from this convention to double and redouble our efforts in this campaign. We are going to place the socialist offensive against Watergate right at the center of the YSA's work.

A rich tradition

Because we are revolutionary socialists, we are under constant fire from the capitalist government. We've *always* had to fight back against their attempts to step on our rights. We in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party have a rich tradition in the defense of democratic rights.

In 1941 the Civil Rights Defense Committee was organized to defend 28 leaders of the SWP and Teamsters Local 544 against a frame-up by the Roosevelt administration. This was a crucial fight for the right of the party to exist and present its socialist program.

In the very depth of McCarthyism

Kolis: 'We won't be silenced'

A standing ovation greeted Salm Kolis when she was introduced to the Dec. 31 rally at the Young Socialist national convention. Kolis, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Diego city council last fall, is being persecuted by local reactionaries.

She was arrested last August and charged with putting the wrong address on an election form. A jury, which was not allowed to hear the full facts of the case, convicted her Dec. 17.

It is clear that Kolis's real offense against San Diego's ruling elite was running as a socialist candidate. For this "crime" she faces up to 14 years in prison.

At the rally Kolis vowed to fight the case before public opinion and in the courts. "The case against me is a local Watergate-style frame-up, complete with illegal surveillance and an FBI informer in the ranks of the defense," she said.

"They wish they could shut us



Salm Kolis

all up. But the socialist movement was not silenced by the Smith Act trials in the 1940s, by the bombings of our offices, or by the attacks on our members—and we won't be silenced by this frame-up either.

"Our revolutionary socialist movement has a fighting tradition. And we don't stop until we win."

Lessons of recent int'l upsurges drawn

By GENE ANDERSON

CHICAGO—Burning issues of world politics and strategy for international revolution were among the central topics of discussion at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention, held here Dec. 27-Jan. 1.

Colorful banners at the front of the convention hall declared, "Solidarity with the workers and students of Greece, Thailand, and South Korea!" "Self-determination for Palestine!" and "Free Luis Vitale and Hector Gutierrez! Defend the victims of the Chilean junta!"

The convention opened with a report on the international youth radicalization given by Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee member Geoff Mirelowitz. Mirelowitz centered his report on the revolutionary explosions led by students and young workers this fall in Greece and Thailand.

He also pointed to the recent student struggles in France, Belgium, England, Uruguay, Argentina, Puerto Rico, Egypt, South Africa, and South Korea as confirmation of the important role students and youth are playing in the worldwide struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

Mirelowitz said the resolution entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International" codifies the key concepts of a Marxist analysis and revolutionary strategy for the student struggles. This resolution was approved in 1969 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky. It was later adopted by the YSA as one of its fundamental programmatic documents.

The resolution states, "The revolutionary youth vanguard, to be effective, must put forward a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it; that connects student demands with the broader demands of the class struggle on a national and international scale; that shows students how their own demands relate to these bigger struggles, are an integral part of them, and can help to advance them."

The upsurges in Greece and Thailand, Mirelowitz said, exemplify such an approach. The students were the first to go into action, raising demands for political democracy, including students' rights and university



Athens Polytechnic University. 'Thousands of students and workers took control of the university and transformed it into an organizing center for the struggle against the dictatorship.'

autonomy. They found that struggles around these elementary democratic demands rapidly brought them into a head-on confrontation with the capitalist state.

The Thai and Greek students also found themselves up against the power of U. S. imperialism, the main prop of support for the repressive regimes in those countries. Demands for "U.S. Out!" were prominent in both upsurges.

The student protests touched a responsive chord among the workers and oppressed masses of Bangkok and Athens. "It was the intervention of the working class, with its decisive social power, that shook the Thai and Greek rulers," Mirelowitz said.

He pointed out that reports in the capitalist press have downplayed the extent and significance of the workers' participation in those mobilizations, for fear of the example this could set for other countries.

The best organized and most conscious instance of the links between students' and workers' struggles was the occupation of Athens Polytechnic University from Nov. 15-17. "Thousands of students and workers took control of the university and transformed it into an organizing center for the struggle against the dictatorship," Mirelowitz said.

Mirelowitz pointed to two major con-

clusions from the events in Thailand and Greece: "First, that despite all the maneuvers of the imperialists, despite their deals with Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, despite their repression, the class struggle cannot and will not be stopped.

"Second, the necessity for revolutionary leadership. The combativity of the working class and the youth, their

willingness to sacrifice and fight against this outmoded social system, has been shown anew in the streets of Bangkok and Athens. What is missing is the leadership essential to lead these struggles to victory."

Revolutionary socialist youth organizations like the YSA, he said, can lead the struggles of youth and direct them against the foundations of capitalist rule, and also help recruit and train cadres for the mass revolutionary party of the working class.

The second day of the convention was devoted to discussion of the issues now under debate in the Fourth International. Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the YSA, presented the report from the national executive committee.

The main point of discussion was strategy for revolutionists in Latin America and the lessons to be drawn from the experiences in Bolivia and Argentina. Questions of building the revolutionary movement in Europe, where workers' and students' struggles are on the rise, were also extensively discussed.

Representatives of a minority tendency in the YSA were given equal time with both Mirelowitz and Pulley to present their views. At the end of the discussion, the overwhelming majority of delegates voted to approve the positions put forward by the national executive committee.

Venezuelan Young Socialists

The Young Socialist national convention received greetings from organizations of the YSA's co-thinkers around the world. A highlight among these were the greetings from the recently formed Juventud Socialista (JS—Young Socialists) of Venezuela.

In the six months since its founding, the JS has grown from a nucleus of 25 members to 130. Seventy percent are high school students.

In five high schools in Caracas and eight more in the interior, JS members are leading efforts to establish assemblies of delegates democratically elected by each classroom to deal with such issues as political freedom and students' rights.

JS chapters have also been

formed in five universities, including the largest one in Caracas.

JS members were active builders and leaders of recent demonstrations to protest the Chile coup. They also played an important role in the wave of demonstrations that swept the country last year when a law student was tortured and murdered by the government.

Most recently, they waged a campaign in solidarity with striking women textile workers in Caracas through a united front of workers and students.

The JS newspaper, *Polilla Roja*, is sold along with *Voz Marxista*, bimonthly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) of Venezuela.

YSA defends struggles around the world

By NORMAN OLIVER

CHICAGO—The acid test of any organization's claim to be internationalist lies not in what it says but in what it does.

It was evident from the reports, workshops, and discussions at the Young Socialist national convention that revolutionary internationalism is the hallmark of the YSA's day-to-day practice.

Much of the YSA's activity during the past year has centered on defending international revolutionary struggles against attacks by U.S. imperialism. Several workshops were held to share the experiences of this work and lay plans for the spring.

Jerry Freiwirth, a member of the YSA national committee, led the workshop on Chile. He reported on the successful campaign the YSA launched last fall in defense of Chilean political

prisoners and against U.S. support to the military dictatorship.

Freiwirth said the YSA would continue to support the activities of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

During the workshop discussion, YSAers from around the country spoke of the many demonstrations, teach-ins, and other actions they had helped to organize. For example, at the University of Texas in Austin, a meeting to hear an eyewitness account of the coup drew 800 people.

YSA members from New York City described the campaign around the bombing of the USLA national offices. The terrorist attack occurred last December, in the midst of preparations for a demonstration against repression in Chile. One thousand people attended the demonstration despite

this attempt at intimidation.

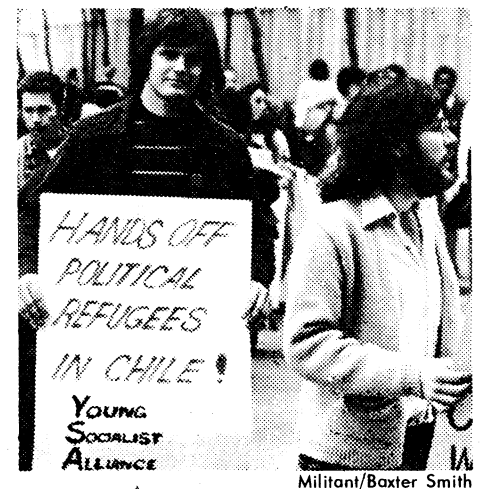
Freiwirth stressed the importance of explaining the lessons of the Chilean events. He said that in the context of exposing the role of the U.S., the YSA should also educate on how the class-collaborationist strategies of the Chilean Communist Party and Socialist Party paved the way for the tragic defeat. These lessons have been drawn, for example, in articles in the *Young Socialist* newspaper and *The Militant*.

The YSA has consistently defended the right to self-determination of the Palestinian Arabs. This work has won great respect for the YSA among Arab groups. Greetings were presented to the convention from a representative of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The October war posed a test for every organization in the U.S. left.

The Young People's Socialist League was an ardent supporter of Israeli aggression. The pro-Moscow Young Workers Liberation League favored imposing a "peace" plan that would

Continued on page 22



Militant/Baxter Smith

Activists weigh experience in Black struggle

By DERRICK MORRISON

CHICAGO—The Young Socialist Alliance sees the struggle of Black people for self-determination as a central component of the coming American socialist revolution, and puts a high priority on the YSA's participation in the struggles of Black people.

The report on the Black struggle at the Young Socialist national convention was presented by Malik Miah for the YSA national executive committee.

Miah said that the Black movement is in a contradictory stage. "Nationalist sentiments continue to deepen in the Black community," he said, "fueled by the continuing national oppression."

"This national oppression has not decreased over the years, despite claims by some liberals. Blacks are still the last hired and first fired; we still live in the worst housing and go to the worst schools."

Miah explained, however, that this deepening nationalist awareness has not yet been reflected in mass independent political struggle for the rights of Black people. A leadership void exists in the Black movement.

"More and more Blacks know that liberation is impossible within the present system," he said, "but they



Atlanta YSA members have been active in protests against police brutality in Black community.

don't know how to change it."

Key in this respect are the activities carried out by the YSA, which help educate people about the nature of the capitalist system. In addition to this educational work, Miah said, "We want to be involved in the struggles of Black students and workers wherever we can. We want to be active in

their fights against police brutality, for better housing, better schools, and more jobs."

At the convention workshop on the Black struggle, Miah projected several aspects of the YSA's involvement. These included:

- Building support in the Black community for the offensive against the Watergaters by the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party;
- Continuing sales of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* in the Black community, particularly at high schools, community colleges, and universities Blacks attend;
- Building support for the 1974 election campaigns of the SWP;
- Defending Blacks victimized by the police, such as J.B. Johnson in St. Louis and Gary Lawton in Southern California;
- Supporting and participating in struggles against racism and racist oppression; and
- Winning Black activists to the YSA.

In the workshop discussion, YSAers from Atlanta described their experiences in helping to organize a recent demonstration of 200 people to protest the police killing of a Black man. They also recently participated in a

campaign by Black students at Georgia State University for control of an administration-sponsored Black History Week slated for February.

A Boston YSA member told of organizing support for the SWP campaign for city council, which attacked and exposed the racism of the school system.

In New York, YSA members supported and helped build the recent Eastern regional conference on Black women's liberation sponsored by the National Black Feminist Organization.

YSAers in several areas, including Philadelphia, Detroit, New York, and Connecticut, were active in building the African Liberation Day demonstrations that involved thousands of Blacks last May 26.

Miah reported that the African Liberation Support Committee, which called and organized the actions, had declined in support since May 26 because it had mapped out no plans for a national action last fall.

The YSA decided to continue to educate about the role of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa and to participate in joint activities with the ALSC and other forces where possible.

Why two Black militants decided to join YSA

CHICAGO—Jesse Todd and Vince Egan are two of a number of Black activists who have joined the Young Socialist Alliance in the last year and attended the Young Socialist national convention.

They are typical of many militants in that their search for answers to the problems of Black liberation has forced them to come to grips with two alternatives: Stalinism, represented primarily by the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League; or revolutionary Marxism, represented by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Jesse Todd, 27, is a community organizer in St. Louis. Recently, he was active in organizing hundreds of people to protest cutbacks in antipoverty programs. He also organized a successful boycott of the Central West End Bank for refusing to hire Blacks.

Over the years Todd has participated in organizations such as CORE and the Black Panther Party, and he was active in the antiwar movement. At the beginning of 1972 Todd supported Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm for president and ran on her slate in the bid for delegates to the Democratic Party convention. He lost, and after finding out that Chisholm and McGovern chose the interests of the Democratic Party over the interests

of Black people, he did not bother to vote.

He subsequently came to the conclusion that revolutionary change was necessary, and that it would take a revolutionary organization to accomplish this.

"I knew of the Young Workers Liberation League," he said, "but it never took up the question of Black control of the Black community and it would waver back and forth and play with the Democratic Party."

At a picnic sponsored by various radicals in St. Louis last summer, he met a YSA member and bought a copy of a pamphlet by Leon Trotsky on *Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*. After finding out about the revolutionary Marxist position on the national question, Todd decided



Jesse Todd Militant/Pat Hayes

to check out the politics of the YSA.

He found out that the YSA had a firm position in opposition to the two capitalist parties, in support of Black control of the Black community, in support of self-determination for Palestine, and in support of Black women's liberation.

After working with the YSA and other forces in a committee to defend J. B. Johnson, a Black youth framed up on the charge of killing a white policeman, Todd joined the YSA.

Vince Egan, 20, is a student at the Atlanta University Center in Atlanta. He attended the November 1972 YSA convention as a member of the Committee for Independent Black Politics (CIBP). At the time the CIBP had just run two candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican parties in state assembly districts in Atlanta.

"I had criticisms of the Socialist Workers Party, but we looked to the SWP for a lot of education in terms of how you approached the electoral question," he said.

"For example, the pamphlets *Transitional Program for Black Liberation* and *Lenin as Election Campaign Manager* were part of the basic works that all people were supposed to read during the '72 campaign of the CIBP."



Vince Egan

With the beginning of 1973 and the launching of the successful campaign for mayor by Maynard Jackson, a Black Democrat, some elements in the CIBP leadership vacillated in their opposition to the Democratic Party. Egan became an active supporter of Debby Bustin, the SWP candidate for mayor.

"After a particular point in my development I saw the necessity of being in a Marxist party, a multinational party," he said. His experiences in the CIBP, combined with an examination of the programs of a number of organizations calling themselves Marxist—especially the programs of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, led Egan to join the YSA.

—D. M.

SWP discusses issues facing world Trotskyists

CHICAGO—The Socialist Workers Party held a special national convention here Dec. 26-28 to discuss the issues being debated in the world Trotskyist movement.

The convention took up three points that will be under consideration at an upcoming world congress of the Fourth International. First is a balance sheet on the experiences of revolutionists in Argentina and Bolivia, countries that have gone through major revolutionary upheavals in recent years. This discussion deals with such questions as whether the model of the Cuban revolution can be repeated and

what place guerrilla struggles occupy in a strategy for building Trotskyist parties in Latin America.

The second question is perspectives for building revolutionary parties in Europe, where the rise of workers' and students' struggles since 1968 has created very favorable situations for expanding the revolutionary forces. Important questions under debate are how to intervene among the radicalizing layers and how to combat the influence of the mass Stalinist and Social Democratic parties.

Third is the world political situation as a whole, including the evaluation

of the Vietnam cease-fire, the significance of the détente between U.S. imperialism and the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking, and the lessons to be drawn from the recent events in Chile.

Other points are also under discussion in the world Trotskyist movement but are not being voted on at this time. These include an evaluation of Maoism and the Chinese revolution; the youth radicalization; women's liberation; the Middle East; Vietnam; and Eastern Europe.

An SWP convention last August had

already provided for an initial discussion of the issues taken up again at this gathering. Both conventions were preceded by extensive discussion within the party. All SWP branches organized oral discussions, and a discussion bulletin was open to written contributions from all party members.

At the December convention, reports and counterreports on the disputed questions were presented, followed by extensive discussion by the delegates. The reports from the SWP political committee were approved by delegates representing more than 90 percent of the party membership.

Fall YS teams built socialist movement and participated in campus struggles

By MIGUEL PENDAS

CHICAGO—When a traveling team of Young Socialists arrived at Eastern Illinois University, the first thing they did was begin selling the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Practically everybody who bought the paper said something like, 'I can't believe there's a radical newspaper on the campus. I bet I'm the only one who's going to buy it.' Yet within two hours we had sold 110 copies," Nancy Rosenstock of the Chicago team recalled.

This experience was repeated on scores of campuses this fall as 12 Young Socialist teams, each with four members, went from city to city introducing thousands of students to socialist ideas.

The 12 teams sold a total of 12,783 copies of the *Young Socialist*; 8,651 copies of *The Militant*; and 254 of the *International Socialist Review*. In addition, 4,267 subscriptions to *The Militant* and 442 to the *ISR* were sold. More than \$2,700 worth of radical and socialist literature from Pathfinder Press was sold in the eight weeks the teams were on the road.

Through their activities the teams recruited 90 people to the YSA, and seven new YSA chapters were formed.

In a sense these teams functioned as mobile mini-chapters of the YSA. They not only sold literature but also participated in the political life of every campus they visited.

Middle East crisis

The war in the Middle East broke out when most teams had just hit the road, and defending the Arab struggle became a major focus of their activity. Marguerite Snyder of the New York team told of the experience she had at the State University of New York campus in Albany:

"When we got to the school, the Zionists had been physically preventing the Palestinian students from getting out their point of view by tearing down their posters and threatening to beat them up."

The YSAers worked with the Arab students and set up a public meeting in defense of the Arab struggle. It was the first time in years Zionist intimidation had not prevented this type of meeting from being successful.

The YSA literature table here, as on practically every campus the teams visited, became a center of discussion. "Black and Puerto Rican students came to sit at our table as a warning to the Zionists that they would defend it against physical attack," Snyder said.

As a result of this work, nine people joined the YSA in Albany and a local chapter was constituted.

Toby Emmerich of the Seattle-Portland team reported that at one campus they visited, an Arab student would not let the team leave until he bought their entire stock of literature on the Middle East for the Arab student organization's table.

Traveling in Fresno, Calif., the San Francisco-Berkeley team helped the American Arab Student Association (AASA) build a campus meeting for a former member of the Palestinian resistance. This led to the AASA asking the YSA to set up a regular series of classes about revolutionary socialism.

Impact of Watergate

The Watergate revelations have had a profound effect on the nation's campuses, making more people receptive to the socialist alternative. Don Sorsa from the Houston-Austin team reported, "One of the first things people always asked us was what the suit against the Nixon administration was all about."

"One person who had threatened to throw water on our table last spring said that Watergate had made him take a different look at what was happening," said Sorsa. This person now subscribes to the *Young Socialist*.

Joe Kear of the Cleveland-Detroit team reported that on the campus in Kalamazoo, Mich., "We had a huge banner that said, 'We're suing Nixon and the Watergate Gang—Young Socialist Alliance'; it was a real drawing card." There is now a YSA chapter of 10 in Kalamazoo.

The Philadelphia-D.C. team sponsored a campus forum on Watergate in Shippensburg, Pa., attended by 90 people, 60 of whom asked for more information on the YSA. "We have recruited three people since," Craig Landberg said, "including a professor who used to be in the Communist Party's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League."



YSA members worked closely with Arab students and others on campus in defense of Palestinian self-determination.

At a demonstration of 1,000 at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, in the wake of the firing of Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox, the Boston team found that nearly everyone was interested in the YSA's and SWP's suit.

Students' questions

While there is not the same level of political activism on the campuses there was in the late 1960s or in 1970, the team members all found that rejection of the capitalist system is more widespread. This was reflected in the questions that were asked of YSAers.

"There were fewer right-wing and cynical questions than in the spring," said Joel Hodroff of the Twin Cities team. "People want to know how we think socialism can work."

"The most frequent question we had was, 'What's the relationship between socialism and democracy?'" said Tom Tomasko of the San Francisco-Berkeley team. Most team members agreed.

Kathy Shields of the Denver team found that "lots of people are open to the need for a socialist revolution. But they want to know why you need an organization; how is the revolution going to be won; and how to prevent the rise of a bureaucracy."

"We were asked again and again about the nature of the Soviet Union, and why do you need an organization," said Toby Emmerich.

Opposing the coup and bloody repression in Chile was another focus of activity for the teams. The Los Angeles-San Diego team worked with a Chile solidarity group at the University of California in Santa Barbara to help build meetings protesting the coup. As a result of this work, four people in the group joined the YSA and a YSA chapter was formed.

The New York team helped set up speaking engagements for the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners on school campuses.

In many areas, teams came in contact with United Farm Workers support committees and participated in their activities.

School administrators

On numerous occasions the teams ran into difficulties with school administrators who tried to deny their right to distribute literature. In these situations many student groups came to the defense of the YSAers.

The Denver team was refused permission to set up a table at Highlands University in Las Vegas, N.M. Campus Chicanos, who comprise some 60 percent of the student body, were in the midst of a struggle to win Chicano control of Chicano studies.

"The administration wasn't particularly delighted to see us," commented Kathy Shields. "We went out and joined the picket lines with the activists from the Chicano Associated Students Organization (CASO). They argued with the administration on our behalf, and at a public rally they defended our right to be on campus."

In some cases, student activists not only defended the YSA's right to be on campus, but even pitched in to help staff tables, set up meetings for YSA speakers, and sell *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

Many people remembered the YS teams from the previous spring, and some who had begun to consider the YSA then joined during the fall tour.

This spring the YSA will field 14 teams, two more than last fall. Judging from the experiences of the fall teams, this should be an important step toward establishing the YSA as the leading radical organization on the nation's campuses.

Pulley, Finkel, Welch elected as YSA officers

A plenary meeting of the newly elected Young Socialist Alliance national committee was held Jan. 1 to select the incoming national executive committee and national officers.

Andrew Pulley, 22, was elected national chairman of the YSA. Pulley joined the YSA in 1969 after

receiving an "undesirable" discharge from the army for his role in organizing GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, S.C. He and other GI antiwar leaders were victimized by the army brass in the case of the Fort Jackson Eight but won release after a large public defense campaign was organized.

Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate in 1972.

Rich Finkel, 24, was elected national secretary. Finkel joined the YSA in 1968 while a student at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. He served as Ohio regional organizer for the YSA in 1969 and as a national field secretary in 1970. During the past year, he was editor of the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Delfine Welch, 24, was elected national organization secretary. Welch joined the YSA in 1970 after having been active in Cell 16 and Boston Female Liberation, two of the earliest feminist groups of the current radicalization. She was organizer of the North Boston YSA in 1971 and has been on the YSA national office staff for the past two years.



Andrew Pulley



Rich Finkel



Delfine Welch

A debate among colonialists

'Hawks' and 'doves' in Israeli elections

By TONY THOMAS

As was expected, Golda Meir's Labor bloc retained its control over the government in Israel's Dec. 31 elections. Meir's party, which has governed Israel in coalition with smaller groups since the country was established in 1948, won 51 out of the 120 seats in the Knesset (Parliament), a loss of five seats. The opposition Likud slate grew by seven seats, gaining a total of 39.

Press coverage in this country tended to picture the Labor bloc as "doves," more inclined to a "moderate" settlement in the Mideast. The Likud bloc, led by Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon, characterized as "hawks," has insisted on retention of all territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war.

The Labor bloc's willingness to support—at least in words—a partial withdrawal from the occupied territories is the primary difference between these two Zionist groupings. Both stand for the maintenance of the state of Israel based on the dispossession of the Palestinian people, continued aggression against the Arab states, and continued casualties, repression, and economic miseries for the Israeli masses.

The value of the peace rhetoric mouthed by the "doves" should be assessed in light of the fact that they presided over the seizure of Arab territories in the wars of 1947-48, 1956, 1967, and 1973. Shortly before the latest war the Labor Party secretariat voted 78 to 0 to approve the Galili plan. This plan opened the occupied territories to further purchases of land and settlement by Israeli citizens and provided for massive government investment in them.

Although the "doves" in the Labor bloc have spoken about their willingness to give up some of the occupied territories, they also used the elections to make clear what they intend to keep.

The Dec. 29 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported on a speech by Moshe Dayan, defense minister in the Labor government. The principal point of Dayan's speech was to call for holding on to key portions of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and the West Bank of the Jordan River. He also called for completion of Israeli plans to settle these areas, including plans for an industrialized Israeli city of 250,000 at Yamit on the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai.

He said that it is necessary to build these settlements because frontiers are "fixed by a human presence and not by a mark of a pencil on a map." *Le Monde* continued, "one of the aims of this settlement is to establish a barrier between returned Egyptians in the Sinai and the Gaza region where nearly 300,000 Palestinians live."

The Jan. 1 issue of the same news-

paper reported on Golda Meir's final election speech. Meir stated that Israel would not withdraw from the Golan Heights nor allow the return of the section of Jerusalem seized from Jordan in 1967. Meir added that her country was not disposed to cede Sharm el Sheikh at the southern tip of the Sinai.

The entire discussion between the Likud and the Labor bloc reflects differing views among colonialists on how to keep the Palestinian and other Arab peoples colonized. In Jerusalem, the only place in the occupied territories where Arabs are permitted to vote (since it has already been formally annexed by Israel), overwhelming opposition to the Zionist occupation was demonstrated.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization and other resistance groups called on Jerusalem Arabs to boycott the municipal elections as an index of opposition to the regime. Only 12 percent of the 43,000 eligible Arab voters went to the polls. Henry Kamm reported in the Jan. 1 *New York Times* that "it was difficult today for a foreigner to find among his Arab acquaintances anyone who would admit having made use of his right to vote."

"A waiter replied when asked whether he had voted: 'No, I don't have to, I don't work for the government.' Many here feel that Arabs who vote are either municipal employees protecting their jobs or merchants requiring licenses or permits, or poor people responding to political bribes."

Despite the large totals for the Labor bloc and the even more right-wing Likud, Israel is entering a period of increased questioning as the results of the 1973 war are felt by the population.

Michel Warshawsky, one of the central leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization, the Israeli supporters of the Fourth International, described the current situation in an interview in the Dec. 21 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist newspaper:

"The population has political questions about the dependent relationship to the United States, the permanent warfare, security, Israel's policy of force. We are getting a response we have never gotten before. Taking account of our sympathizer circles, our influence has never been so great. Our comrades who are still in the army also report that there is a very strong and pressing process of political questioning going on."

These problems facing the Israeli masses can only be solved by granting the demands of the Palestinian people and by a socialist revolution in the Mideast—not by U.S.-Zionist peace plans imposed against the will of the Arab peoples.



'Hawk' Ariel Sharon (left) with Moshe Dayan. Sharon's slogan was 'Not an Inch.' Dayan is willing to negotiate about part of the Sinai Peninsula.

District 1 activists plan new campaign

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents—and those who support their right to control the education of their children—are readying an all-out campaign to regain a majority on the District 1 community school board in Manhattan's Lower East Side.

The new election, which was ordered by a federal judge Dec. 26, is itself the result of a long struggle that included demonstrations and a massive school boycott organized by parents.

Ruling on a suit brought by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Judge Charles Stewart removed the board, which was elected last May 1, on the grounds that the election had been run in a "racially discriminatory manner."

After the fraudulent election, the racist board majority, supported by Albert Shanker, the reactionary head of the New York teachers union, had tried to reverse gains won by the com-

fused to meet with parent leaders—with one exception. Last October, in the midst of the parent-organized boycott against the attempt to remove Fuentes, the chancellor dropped in to plead with parents to "be reasonable" and end the boycott.

Parent leaders intend to fight the imposition of Anker's control of their schools.

The parents will also fight Anker's proposed \$1-million reduction in the District 1 budget.

Anker has made it clear that he will follow in the footsteps of the ousted board's racist majority, which engineered a budget "crisis" to justify its efforts to eliminate the staff of bilingual and other programs and dismiss younger teachers—many of them sympathetic to the community.

Etta Winfield, a Black parent leader, said at a recent meeting, "We must take the position that we will not accept any budget cuts. Our children are already being deprived of a decent education. We need more money, not less!"



Protests like this by community activists helped win court ruling overturning fraudulent election of racist school board in New York's District 1.

munity under a previous board—such as bilingual programs and parent screening of principals. They had also tried to remove the Puerto Rican district superintendent, Luis Fuentes, a supporter and symbol of community control for the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents.

No date has yet been set for the new election. But parents and other community activists have already formed a broad coalition and are making plans for a campaign office and staff, fund-raising, and city-wide and community outreach.

Even before the campaign begins, parents have two other fights on their hands. One centers on who will run the district until the new election. The other is the threat of cuts in the district's budget.

On Jan. 4, Stewart empowered the chancellor of the city-wide school system, Irving Anker, to govern District 1 until a new board is elected. This move went squarely against the demand of the Presidents' Council—the presidents of the parent associations in the district's 20 schools—that they administer the schools until a new board is elected.

Anker has already demonstrated his hostility to parent participation in school affairs. He has consistently re-

Another parent pointed out, "The city told School District 4 that it had to take a budget cut because there was no money. When the parents took some action and initiated a boycott, lo and behold, the city miraculously found some money it had forgotten about."

Neither Anker nor the anti-community-control board he replaces has any interest in what the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents—whose children make up 93 percent of the district's students—want for their schools. Anker represents the racist officialdom of New York City.

He wants peace with Shanker. And Shanker, a racist bureaucrat aligned with AFL-CIO President George Meany, wants to preserve the privileged position of his base in the union—the older, better paid, more conservative teachers, who see the aspirations of the oppressed communities as a threat.

The Lower East Side community has been struggling to defend itself against this powerful array of forces and has handed Shanker a considerable setback. More determined than ever to gain control of their schools, the oppressed communities of District 1 are on the offensive.

'73—a good year?

The capitalist politicians and press have been praising the labor fakers who run the trade unions for behaving with such "responsibility" and "restraint"—that is, for holding the workers back from fighting for adequate wage increases to keep up with spiraling inflation.

Yes, the bureaucrats did their job well for the bosses in 1973. So well that real wages of the average worker fell by 3.3 percent during the year while profits skyrocketed. Now, with the energy crisis alibi, the capitalists are accelerating their drive to lay off workers, press for speedup, and drive up prices.

But the capitalists are worried that their dream world won't last much longer. The continuing inflation and the energy crisis have exposed all talk of "equality of sacrifice" as a fraud. Even Nixon's labor secretary, Peter Brennan, now says maybe working people deserve greater wage increases in 1974.

But, Brennan went on to say in a Jan. 8 statement, all in all, "1973 was a good year for working people." This assertion shows that this "labor secretary" has been living in a different world than the one laboring people live in.

To confront the mammoth problems of the energy crisis, soaring inflation, massive layoffs, and government corruption, the labor movement has to reject the perspectives of bureaucrats like Brennan and other labor misleaders who have been living in the world of the rich.

The trade unions should call an emergency congress of labor to plan how to mobilize the enormous power of the labor movement to defend the rights of the majority to a decent standard of living. This congress should be composed of elected delegates from the plants and offices, unorganized workers, the Black community, women's groups, and all other sectors of society who suffer from the profit-gouging policies of the capitalists.

We've seen, throughout the past year of wage controls, the meat shortage, the Watergate scandal, and now the fuel crisis, that the Congress in Washington does not and will not carry out the interests of working people.

A congress of labor is needed to discuss and adopt policies that the Democrats and Republicans refuse to fight for. Such policies as: 1) an escalator clause to guarantee that incomes rise as the cost of living rises; 2) a shorter workweek at no drop in pay to spread the work to all those who need a job; 3) a crash program of public works, to build efficient mass transit systems as well as sorely needed housing, schools, and hospitals; 4) opening the financial records of the oil monopolies to let the people know exactly what the fuel situation is; and 5) building a labor party based on the trade unions that could fight for a workers government.

Such a government of the working people would take over the oil monopolies and run them in the interests of the majority rather than for the private profit of the Rockefellers, Morgans, and Mellons.

New attack on UFW

"Let the truth be known," trumpets a Teamster ad in the Jan. 6 Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, an ad that labels the United Farm Workers boycott "antiunion."

The Teamster bureaucrats who bought this ad assure us that their only interest is the welfare of the farm workers. "The Teamsters won the workers over by providing better representation for them," according to this version of "the truth."

The phony Teamster contracts, however, did away with the union hiring halls won by the UFW, thus enabling the hated labor contractors to resume their superexploitation of the workers.

And, to hear the lying Teamster bureaucrats tell it, the UFW opposes one of its own demands—secret ballot elections for farm workers.

Unlike the UFW, the Teamsters didn't need to wage a long and bitter struggle with the growers. They were invited to sign sweetheart contracts by the growers—behind the backs and against the wishes of the field workers.

The ad claims, "The effort to revive the boycott was a desperation move. It has been practically a total failure. . . ." This, no doubt, is the reason the Teamster bureaucrats feel it necessary to place a full-page ad attacking the boycott!

This latest scab ad attacking the UFW boycott was encouraged by one placed in the *Plain Dealer* Dec. 19 by officials of the Retail Clerks union and the Meat Cutters. Both should be repudiated by the entire labor movement and all those who support *La Causa*.

Learning from experience

I am writing because I feel my experience could be very relevant to many former McGovern supporters.

In the fall of 1972 I, along with many other people formerly active in the "movement," was co-opted by the capitalist system into putting our hopes of ending the oppression we faced daily by getting off the streets and into the offices of McGovern across the nation. We were used and co-opted to put our faith into one individual that once elected to office would shape up the system.

It took me until a year later to realize that my work for McGovern was not the answer. This present society will manipulate any real threat to the system and even offer us McGovern's full of empty promises.

Up with socialism and down with false promises and lies.

D.J.

Carbondale, Ill.

Slim finances

Here is my check for next year's subscription (I wouldn't even think of not renewing!), and a small contribution to help with the rising cost of paper. I would have liked to send you more but my finances (being a student) are slim.

N.R.

Lindenwood, N.J.

More Watergate coverage

As a *Militant* subscriber, I have appreciated the coverage and socialist perspective you consistently allow domestic politics. However, I cannot help thinking that you and your able staff are underemphasizing the dramatic and unprecedented events in recent American politics.

I think you are seriously misjudging the American worker, and most particularly the worker or student who is left of center, to whatever degree, politically, if you believe that the Mideast has taken precedence over domestic issues. Watergate and government decay is all one hears discussed in factories, offices, and, as in my case, in the schools.

C.D. McCarver

Nashville, Tenn.

Gay prisoners sue

Two prisoners have filed a lawsuit challenging the Federal Bureau of Prisons' ban on homosexuality.

The two prisoners contend that their constitutional right to freedom of speech was violated when prison officials transferred them to separate maximum security prisons from a federal reformatory as punishment for publicly announcing their intention to marry each other after their release from prison.

The lawsuit has been filed in federal court in Washington, D.C., where Judge Charles Halleck recently ruled that "the statutory prescription against . . . sodomy . . . is an unconstitutional invasion of the 'right to privacy.'"

The two prisoners also argue that they have been denied "equal protection of laws" because of the harshness of their treatment. They

point out that although homosexuality is more or less tolerated in prison, they have been singled out for special punishment.

Their lawsuit seeks to have the court declare that all federal prisoners have the right to engage in consensual sexual acts.

A prisoner

Kansas

AFT & NEA

A while back AFSCME and Jerry Wurf formed a coalition with the NEA, which I describe as the "company union." For good or bad, the AFT and the NEA are now in merger negotiations. If an AFL-CIO union wants to affiliate with an educational group, it seems logical to do so with one that is affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

This letter is certainly not in defense of Shanker or the AFT leadership. However, I am an active union member, have been since I began teaching six years ago, and expect to continue being a member. The racist, sexist, extremely top-heavy leadership-bureaucracy of the NEA makes it an organization that I could in no way join. Shankerism is bad enough, and NEA'ism is even worse in my opinion.

A reader

San Francisco, Calif.

In reply—For a "company union" the NEA has conducted a surprising number of strikes. By mid-year 1973, 122 of the 147 teacher strikes were called by the 1.4-million-member NEA, by far the largest and most influential organization of teachers. More recently AFT and NEA have conducted successful joint strikes.

It is an old slander circulated by Shankerite AFT organizers that "the racist, sexist, extremely top-heavy leadership-bureaucracy of the NEA" makes it an organization no teacher should join or support. No objections of this kind were voiced within the AFT when Shanker negotiated his cozy merger deal with the leadership of the New York State NEA.

When Shanker spoke at the NEA convention in Portland, Ore., last July, spewing out his racist and sexist poison, he was nailed by a woman member of the NEA Black caucus. One of the NEA conditions of merger with the AFT is that all minorities must be represented on all policy-making bodies of the merged organization.

Young candidates

While I am in nearly total agreement with *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, I must, for the sake of the socialist revolution in America, take exception to one of their electoral tactics.

While it seems a noble and worthy goal to challenge the barbaric and obscene election laws that specifically bar young persons from placing their names on the ballot, it seems as though in such cases where there are persons old enough to run, they should be the preferred candidates—especially when the party considers who should be selected as presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

It seems apparent to me that a successfully elected candidate can do much to effect change in election



laws as well as other matters. One cannot have one's cake and eat it too.

Roger Smith
McAllen, Texas

FBI records

While following closely Watergate and subsequent disclosures, it is with some humor that I discovered the following: the attorney general's office has instructed the FBI to release its personal records on request, but only to the subject of the record.

I find this a bit laughable, considering all that has transpired and the fact that the FBI doesn't release records to those who are being investigated.

However, if you think the FBI has a rap sheet on you, and you think they might release it, just drop them a line, with your date of birth and a set of rolled-inked fingerprints.

Vincent O'Connor
Collegeville, Minn.

'Sexual stereotyping'

How odd that Linda Jenness, who must be tired of the charge that women who protest the inequities of sexual stereotyping are "man-haters," nevertheless, in her column in the Dec. 14 *Militant*, labels a man who expresses his dissatisfaction, a "woman-hater."

Women cannot exonerate themselves from responsibility for the wars in which young males are sacrificed.

If it is true that the positions of power are held predominantly by males, it also is true that the immediate victims of that power are for the most part subordinate males who have no alternative to alienated work, from which they retire later, to die younger, than females.

Brian Johnston
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Scab lettuce rejected

I have read some of the articles on the problems of our brothers in the lettuce industry. Our good government aids our striking brothers in their struggle by buying and serving lettuce to 2,200 federal prisoners here—no less than twice daily.

We do not eat this scab lettuce. *Still* it is bought, served, and sent out in the garbage twice daily. Just one more way our good government is suppressing the efforts of our brothers in their struggle and the poor.

A prisoner
Kansas

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Power struggle in teachers union

American Federation of Teachers President David Selden says Albert Shanker's "thirst for power" is behind Shanker's effort to oust him.

Shanker's record in the union confirms Selden's charge that Shanker is personally ambitious, always ready to subvert the basic needs of teachers to his immediate goals. But this does not explain why Shanker decided to try to replace Selden as president at this time instead of waiting until the union's convention in August.

As president of the AFT's New York City local, Shanker first gained national notoriety in 1968 when he led the racist-inspired Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike that paralyzed 90 percent of the New York school system for nine weeks. In 1972 he managed to merge the New York City AFT local with the larger New York State Teachers Association, an affiliate of the 1.4-million-member National Education Association (NEA). Shanker became executive vice-president of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT).

At the 1973 AFL-CIO biennial convention Shanker was elevated over the head of Selden to a spot on the 35-member Executive Council. He was sponsored by AFL-CIO President George Meany and assumes his new post as a tested and trusted member of the thoroughly reactionary Meany wing of the trade-union bureaucracy.

A special meeting of the AFT executive council voted Dec. 7 to request Selden's "immediate resignation." He is accused of aiding "the other side" in current AFT-NEA merger negotiations. Selden has refused to resign.

The Shankerite move against Selden indicates that a possible national AFT-NEA merger is in the works, a development endorsed by both organizations at their conventions last summer. If this should come about in the near future on the same basis as the 1972 New York state merger, Selden would go to

the AFT convention this year as part of an anti-Shanker bloc with voting power far outweighing what Shanker could muster.

This would explain Shanker's haste in wanting to get Selden out of the way now. He fears a merger with the huge NEA membership, which dwarfs the 380,000-member AFT.

As matters now stand within the AFT, half the membership is in New York state and half of this bloc is in Shanker's New York City local. This accounts for the lopsided vote of the AFT executive council against Selden.

Shanker got a taste last summer of what the new AFT will be like if it merges with the NEA. He went to the NEA national convention in Portland, Ore., attended by more than 9,000 other delegates, as head of a delegation of 900 from New York. He failed to win a single delegation to his racist position when he tried to defend the 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike. He made the familiar pitch that "there is white racism and there is Black racism, and we ought to be opposed to both."

According to Shanker, community control in Black and Puerto Rican school districts is "racism in reverse."

He objected vigorously when Lauri Wynn, chairwoman of the NEA Black Caucus, explained NEA policy on minority communities. His objections were overruled. Shanker doesn't want that to happen at any AFT convention and is taking measures to ensure that it won't.

There are other substantive issues in the AFT power struggle that will emerge before it is settled, but at this stage Shanker's racism overshadows them. The three votes on the AFT executive council against the Shankerite move to oust Selden were cast by Blacks. They know a Shanker-run organization is no place for Black teachers, nor others, either.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Building the UFW boycott

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance have been active supporters of the struggles of the United Farm Workers Union. The YSA has pointed to the need for a massive boycott campaign to counter grower-Teamster efforts to destroy the UFW. At a well-attended workshop during their recent national convention, YSAers assessed their activity in support of the grape, lettuce, and Gallo Wine boycotts and discussed the problems facing the boycott support movement.

The workshop was led by José G. Pérez, a member of the YSA's national executive committee and author of the recently published pamphlet *Viva La Huelga! The Struggle of the Farm Workers*. (Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 1973. 25 cents.)

Pérez explained that the UFW, in its fight to represent the field workers, is taking on agribusiness, one of the most powerful industries. Agribusiness has the cooperation of the Teamsters union bureaucracy and the capitalist government on a federal and state level.

The UFW is fighting for its life with wholly inadequate backing from the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO contributed some money during the grape strike last spring, but this aid falls far short of what is needed. While giving lip service to the struggle, the AFL-CIO officials have failed even to sanction the boycott. Despite this default by George Meany and the other top bureaucrats, many local and international unions have given some aid to the boycott.

Pérez explained that despite inadequate support from the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, a massive boycott campaign could be mounted. Such a campaign would draw on the widespread sympathy for the farm workers' cause and mobilize many of the same young people who were the backbone of the movement against the Vietnam war. UFW President César Chávez has called for a stepped-up boycott, but the

massive campaign necessary to win has yet to be undertaken.

In the workshop discussion several participants reported that when large picket lines at one or a few stores were organized, they had proved to be the most effective boycott tactic. Such picketing often generated publicity for the boycott and forced the owners to agree to stop selling scab produce. Several speakers stressed the need to resume picketing whenever stores renege on these agreements.

YSA members from Detroit, Berkeley, East Lansing, Mich., and Madison, Wis., explained how mobilizing large numbers of pickets had successfully defied court injunctions limiting picketing in their cities.

Successful efforts to get trade-union support—including fund-raising, having resolutions passed, and forming ongoing support committees—were discussed by YSAers from Detroit, Chicago, Denver, Minneapolis, and other cities.

Campus boycott activities were also discussed. These included the campaign that threw Gallo Wine recruiters off the UCLA campus, and the current campaign there to get the student newspaper to stop running Gallo ads. YSAers from Boston and San Diego explained how campus funds and facilities had been obtained for farm workers support committees.

In Chicago, the growth of a number of campus committees has pointed to the need for city-wide coordination. UFW supporters are now preparing for a city-wide meeting of representatives from the various campus committees to plan a broadly built regional conference in February. Such a conference could launch a campaign of boycott activities in the spring.

The workshop closed with a spirit of enthusiasm for building the boycott, and with an understanding that only through a massive boycott campaign can the growers be brought to terms and recognition won for the Farm Workers Union.



The Beautiful People—Keep America Beautiful, Inc., bestowed its annual ecology award on Goodyear Tire for suggesting that old tires be thrown in the ocean as "artificial reefs," and for its touring blimp, which flashes the neon message, "Keep America Beautiful."

Progress report—Divorcees may now compete for National Mother of the Year.

Energy to burn—Compared to the energy that would be needed for returnable bottles, the manufacturers of throwaways wasted 211 trillion BTUs in 1972, according to the Crusade for a Cleaner Environment, which says this would be enough to supply nearly 10 million homes with a year's electric power.

Postal bargain—A letter to a stamp collectors' publication explains that the Post Office is still offering 1923 prices. Then it took two days for a letter to get from Portland to San Francisco and it cost two cents—a penny a day. Now it takes eight days and cost eight cents—still a penny a day. And if the price goes to a dime and it takes 10 days, the penny per diem will continue.

A devilish business—The pope is greatly pained by the "epidemic" of dissent within the church. He's noticed that those who seek a more genuine Christianity "easily become anti-ecclesiastical and drift as if by unconscious gravitation toward sociological and political views in which the religious spirit unfortunately is replaced by a humanist spirit. . . ."

More or less—Per capita consumption of cigarettes increased 1 percent since 1970. However, less tobacco is being used per coffin nail, thanks to the well-known social consciousness of the manufacturers, who are increasingly using filter tips and tobacco substitutes to replace the somewhat costlier natural leaf.

Sociology dep't (I)—A survey by the Conference Board, a businessmen's group, found that many Americans feel that beef, prescription drugs, medical and dental fees, appliance and car repairs, and loan charges are priced above their value.

Sociology dep't (II)—A two-year study in Los Angeles found that large, impoverished families have an above-average amount of marital difficulties.



The Old Shell (and all the other oil companies) Game

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



But they didn't ask me

"What man that you have heard or read about, living today in any part of the world, do you admire the most?"

The annual Gallup poll for the "Most Admired Man" produced this list: Henry Kissinger, Billy Graham, Richard Nixon, Edward Kennedy, and Gerald Ford. The next five included George Wallace and Pope Paul VI.

What a crew! If Mr. Gallup had called me up and asked, "Who are some of the most despicable enemies of women?" my list wouldn't have been much different. Except for the pope—I would take him out of ninth place and put him real close to the top.

Only six times since the annual poll was begun in 1946 has the president failed to win first place. There may be some comfort in the fact that Nixon fell from first to third place, but not much, considering who replaced him.

Henry Kissinger is best known as U. S. imperialism's chief con artist, but he's also gaining fame for sexist cracks about women. "What counts is to what extent women are part of my life. . . ." he says. "Well, they aren't that at all. To me women are no more than a pastime, a hobby. Nobody devotes too much time to a hobby."

That's more understandable after Kissinger tells us how he really gets his kicks: "Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac," he claims.

Billy Graham should actually be given a special kind of award. Few people are able to so completely ignore science, technology, and modern thought.

This neanderthal sky pilot thinks that one of the main causes of divorce is the "careless and slovenly appearance and ways" of wives. "I have some suggestions that are not in the Bible that I want to give to you wives," he says to women having a hard time with their husbands. "When your husband comes home in the evening . . . I would suggest that you run to meet him at the door with a kiss. . . . Why don't you put on your prettiest dress, run to the door and meet him, and tell him you are glad he is home?"

He also thinks we should spend a little more time educating ourselves. "You women need to read and keep up with your husbands. . . . He might be interested in the dryest hobby on earth. It could even be golf! But what you ought to do is to learn a little something about it so you can carry on an intelligent conversation."

Now why didn't I think of that? Who needs child care or decent jobs as long as we just look pretty and can carry on a decent conversation about golf?

Graham tells us that he is horrified at the thought of abortion. "Murder is murder," he says, "whether you shoot the victim with a revolver, or disconnect his life support mechanisms." He is less pious when it comes to real murder. "I believe that the death penalty is necessary for certain crimes," he preaches. And in South Africa recently the gentle soul said, "I think that when a man is found guilty of the crime of rape he should be castrated. That would stop him pretty quick!"

On top of everything else, Billy Graham is a Joe McCarthy-style anticommunist. In a pamphlet called *The Christ-centered Home* he writes, "Satan is certainly the archenemy. His masterpiece in our times is the philosophy of Communism. Its godless, materialistic interpretation of life has had untold effects upon the moral life of the nation."

The men who got on the "most admired" list were misplaced. Nixon should be on the "Biggest Criminals" list. Kennedy really belongs on the "opponents of Women's Right to Abortion" list. . . . But they didn't ask me.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Blacks fight job discrimination

In the steel and construction industries, the struggle of Black workers against discriminatory labor practices has been quite sharp.

Job walk-offs and protests by Blacks against company and union bias have often forced legal action.

Last year, suits were brought against Bethlehem, U.S. Steel, and the Steelworkers union to halt discriminatory policies against Blacks in the field of job seniority and advancement.

Now federal officials, representatives of the Steelworkers union, and the major steel corporations are reportedly near completion on a pact that is supposed to end racial discrimination in employment practices in the steel industry nationwide.

The new pact has the backing of the major steel corporations and the Steelworkers union. But some civil rights organizations, Black steelworkers, and officials at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) are critical of the plan. While it acknowledges past discrimination by the corporations and the union, the agreement says nothing about back pay for the affected Black workers.

Other aspects of the pact are also inadequate. For example, it does not apply to women at all.

In addition, while it calls for a new plantwide seniority system, it doesn't cover all departments within the steel mills. Some skilled craft departments will still be closed to Blacks.

Also, the "goals and timetables" of the plan, which require a certain percentage of Blacks to be placed in jobs by a certain period, lumps apprentices and journeymen together. Blacks will be brought in chiefly as apprentices, while the skilled journeymen's jobs will be left to whites.

Last winter the EEOC wrung an agreement from American Telephone and Telegraph Company to fork over \$15-million to Blacks and women it was found to have discriminated against. The steel barons and the union, although aware of that ruling, have not included a back pay figure in their negotiations with government officials.

But the Black outgoing chairman of EEOC, William Brown, figures \$45-million to be an adequate figure. Brown stated he will take the Labor and Justice departments to court unless the pact is "acceptable."

● The NAACP has filed a broad suit in federal court against federally sponsored "home town plans"

in the building industry. It charges that these plans have retarded, not advanced, the cause of equal employment opportunity in the construction industry. Pinpointed are federal plans in Boston, Oakland, and Detroit.

The suit seeks to establish a standard of "goals and timetables" for the hiring of Blacks in the construction industry.

It charges that Nixon's secretary of labor, Peter Brennan, issued a memorandum to local and state governments to refrain from enforcing their own equal employment laws in those areas covered by a federally designed home town plan. These areas only require a signed certificate by the construction companies that they will in good faith hire the appropriate number of Blacks. The suit seeks to void Brennan's memorandum.

Legal and federal action in behalf of Black workers has at times brought partial relief from employment discrimination. But these measures fall short of the preferential measures required to adequately compensate for the built-up damage of years of discrimination.

How rank-and-file carpenters organized California strike against wage controls

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—After a seven-week walkout against the federal government's wage controls and the large building contractors in Northern California, carpenters here are grudgingly returning to work.

This unofficial job action, severely hampered from the beginning by the union officials' refusal to call a sanctioned strike, was ended when the Association of General Contractors (AGC) agreed to a 10-cent deal negotiated by the union heads.

The strike began when carpenters spontaneously walked off their jobs in early November, demanding full payment of a 65-cent wage increase negotiated in 1971 and due in 1973.

The increase had been approved in 1971 by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), the wage-control board for the building trades. But when the wage increase came due it was declared "inflationary" and "inoperative" by the CISC.

In early December the CISC officially ordered the carpenters back to work for a 15-cent increase and "ordered" the AGC to pay 15 cents and no more. A federal court declared the strike illegal.

The union officials hid behind the court injunctions and threats of jail to justify keeping the strike an "unauthorized rank-and-file action," while they gave the strikers behind-the-scenes support in an effort to maintain their credibility.

For these officials, the walkout was a tremendous success, because the officials' settlement offer made at the beginning of the walkout was accepted by the AGC.

'A lousy dime'

What was the deal? The AGC joins the union officials in requesting the CISC to grant an additional 10 cents on wages—that is, a total of 25 cents instead of 65.

The officials agree to carry out no further job action for the negotiated wage increase, so long as the AGC leaves the union free to carry out its legal action against the CISC, already begun in court, for the full 65 cents.

Finally, the AGC withdraws all action against the Carpenters union.

The general response to this deal from the rank and file is that they have not been out on strike for seven weeks for a lousy dime.

The AGC has signed the agreement, but the CISC has yet to rule on it.

One of the most significant aspects of the walkout was the emergence of a militant leadership from the rank and file. This was organized in an ad hoc strike committee and even an "underground district council," with elected representatives of striking carpenters from different locals.

How did this strike committee develop? When the first walkouts occurred at large construction sites in San Francisco, a group of 20 to 40 militants from these jobs formed themselves into a "flying squad" and traveled in a car caravan to other job sites convincing men to walk off.

The number of men active in the "flying squad" grew steadily. They met each morning at the main union hiring hall in San Francisco. Carloads of men were dispatched to "trouble spots."

"Are you getting the full scale, brothers?" a militant with a bullhorn would ask.

"No."

"Are you happy with that?"

"NO!"

"Come on, brother, and join us and walk off the job. You can't work for less than scale. That's scab wages. If we don't stand up and fight now, any contract we get won't be worth the paper it's printed on."

During the first few days of the strike, business agents from some Carpenters locals chose selected job sites to shut down. This action, although quickly curtailed after the first antistrike injunctions were handed down, gave an official stamp to the strike and spurred it on.

But within a few days it was clear that the union officials' strategy was to give no public support or authorization to the strike.

This placed the rank-and-file militants in a very difficult position. With no official strike sanction and no resources of the union behind them, it was impossible to reach all the thousands of members of the union.

The strikers decided at an ad hoc meeting that in spite of these problems they would try to expand the walkout.

Meetings of the carpenters—often numbering



'Flying squads' appealing to workers to walk off job during Northern California carpenters' strike

150—were held almost every day. In mid-December the strike committee also set up a publicity committee to carry out press work and publish an official strike bulletin. Traveling organizers were dispatched to some other areas in Northern California to spread the walkout.

Hardhats demonstrate

In addition to job-site picketing, the strikers organized militant demonstrations outside all the federal court hearings, and packed the courtroom at each session.

More than 300 carpenters showed up at the largest demonstrations. Marchers varied from young carpenters, hardly distinguishable from anti-war demonstrators except for their hardhats, to a large number of carpenters of the Korean-war generation and a handful of old-timers.

Striking carpenters also attended their union meetings and argued for official strike sanction.

The response of the officials was to refuse to entertain any motion for a sanctioned strike.

When confronted with the 10-cent deal after Christmas, there were great differences among the striking militants on what to do. Every carpenter who participated in the strike committee opposed the deal.

At first the committee voted to continue the walkout and keep the pickets up. However, it was not in a position to carry through this stand effectively.

The union officials were now back in the driver's seat. If necessary they would throw all the resources of the union—placed on ice during the strike—into organizing a massive back-to-work campaign.

By keeping its pickets up, the strike committee would not only be opposing the government and the contractors, but would be declaring war against the union officials.

The outcome of such a premature power struggle could only have been isolation from the membership of the union and victimization of the militants by both contractors and union officials.

The militant strike organizers eventually realized this was an untenable position, and all pickets were called off and the men urged to return to work. The job now is to assess the lessons of the strike and to be prepared for a renewed struggle when the contract expires in June.

Get off pay board!

The role of the government as protector of big business is becoming clear to many carpenters. The "wage-price" controls are merely a cover for forcing real wages down and making the workers pay for inflation.

Yet top union officials, including William Sidell of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, still sit on this phony "tripartite" pay board. The government requires the complicity of these bureaucrats to impose its wage controls on the workers. Union militants should demand that their officials end this complicity and get off all antilabor government boards.

While the ranks of the carpenters were willing to challenge the wage controls, the Northern California union officials paralyzed the strike by their cowardly hiding behind court injunctions and refusing to grant strike sanction.

The rank and file should have the right to vote on whether or not to strike. Those officials unwilling to fight for the carpenters' interests should be replaced.

Antiquated craft divisions

The contractors and the government were once again able to use the antiquated craft divisions of the building trades to weaken the unions.

When the carpenters tried to broaden their walkout to other trades, some men would walk off for the duration, for a day, or for a few hours. But they were generally ordered to cross the carpenters' picket lines by their business agents. Often the excuse was given that their union had already settled for what the carpenters were unwilling to accept.

Only when the crafts begin to carry out united action and are reorganized into one big construction union on an industrial basis will the real power of the construction workers be felt.

When the contract expires this June, preparations will have to be made for a large-scale battle. The carpenters should not give up the fight for the 65 cents. Full retroactive pay should be a central demand. To protect workers against spiraling inflation, it will also be important to demand an unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause.

Carpenters now work a 36-hour week. To combat unemployment, carpenters can demand a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay. This would spread the available work to all who need jobs.

As carpenters in Northern California discuss these important questions, some are coming to realize that the fight against the government's wage controls is a political fight.

Workers need their own political vehicle to combat the government. The Democratic and Republican parties are the parties of the contractors and all big business. Working people need their own party—a labor party based on the unions—that will fight for the rights of working people and all the oppressed.

'The Gulag Archipelago'

Solzhenitsyn's new indictment of Stalinist terror



GUILTY!

By DAVE FRANKEL

The crimes of Stalin have long been a matter of public record. The penal colonies, the torture, the unjustified executions, even the deportation of entire nationalities, were admitted by Nikita Khrushchev in his speech to the twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956.

Speaking from his own experience as a top official, Khrushchev conceded that "mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear, and even desperation."

He denounced as "monstrous" Stalin's policy of "mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all Communist and Komsomols [Communist youth] without any exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations."

But to this day the heirs of Stalin have not given a full accounting of the past. They were the ones who carried out Stalin's brutal orders, and even Khrushchev's timid criticisms proved too daring and had to be toned down. Furthermore, the apparatus of political control and the fruits of Stalin's repression still remain.

The Crimean Tartars and the Volga Germans, nations deported by Stalin and not mentioned in Khrushchev's speech, are still not allowed to return to their original homes. Administra-

tive punishments that violate Soviet legality, arbitrary arrests, and closed trials are still used regularly in the attempt to silence dissident voices.

This past year has seen a new wave of repression against oppositionists struggling against such conditions inside the Soviet Union. In August 1973 the world was treated to the spectacle of a rerun of the Stalin-style "show trials" of 1936-38, complete with public "confessions" by Pyotr Yakir and Victor Krasin, two prominent opposition activists.

In view of this, the publication of *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn is a major political event. Solzhenitsyn's exposure of the Stalinist system of political terror is a heavy blow to the Soviet bureaucracy and a powerful answer to its attempts to stamp out the opposition movement. In addition, if the excerpts published in the *New York Times* are any indication, it will prove to be a moving and forceful personal statement by one of the greatest Soviet writers.

Even the *Times* version—10,000 words out of a 260,000-word book—contains much new information. Whether the *Times* editors have distorted Solzhenitsyn's book by their choice of selections remains to be seen, but a preliminary assessment of *The Gulag Archipelago* is certainly in order.

Gulag is an acronym for the Soviet

labor camp system, and Solzhenitsyn's book is a description of political repression in the Soviet Union. He estimates that the labor camps under Stalin may have held as many as 12 million at any one time. ("Six million? Well, that is the equivalent of a small country, Sweden or Greece.")

The scope of the Stalinist terror can be gauged by Solzhenitsyn's claim that one-quarter of the population of



SOLZHENITSYN: Imprisoned for 11 years because he 'indulged in . . . derogatory remarks directed at the Wisest of the Wise.'

Leningrad alone was arrested in 1934-35. "Let this estimate be disproven by those who have the exact statistics and who are willing to publish them," he writes.

In addition to such material, Solzhenitsyn also conveys a little of the atmosphere. "Arrest is the sharp nighttime ring or the rude knock at the door. It is the insolent entrance of unwiped jackboots of the brassy security operations men. It is the frightened and beaten-down civilian witness behind their backs.

"The traditional arrest is also what happens afterward when the poor victim has been taken away. It is the breaking, tearing and tossing from off the walls, the hurling of things onto the floor from wardrobes and desks, the shaking, dumping out, and tearing apart of things.

"During the arrest of Inoshin, a locomotive engineer, there stood in his room a coffin containing the body of his child who had just died. The 'law officers' threw the child's body out of the coffin and searched it."

With a jolt, one realizes that the Kafkaesque incidents in Solzhenitsyn's novels are based on actual experiences.

Impact of World War II

Born in 1918, Solzhenitsyn belonged to the postrevolutionary generation that came of age just in time for World War II. Solzhenitsyn was a devoted communist. "From my childhood on," he writes, "I knew out of somewhere that my life purpose was the history of the Russian Revolution and that nothing else concerned me. For comprehension of the revolution I had long since required nothing except Marxism."

But the outbreak of war opened the eyes of the young Solzhenitsyn to the incompetence and bureaucratic abuses of the Stalinist leadership. Despite repeated warnings of the imminence of the Nazi invasion, Stalin refused to order preparations for war. Even after Hitler's armies had actually invaded Soviet territory, Stalin refused to believe that the war had begun and ordered that German fire not be returned.

Soviet industry had not been mobilized for the war, troops had not been trained, border defenses had not been prepared, and practically the entire cadre of military leaders who had gained combat experience in Spain and the Far East had been killed in the purges of 1937-41.

All this is reported in Khrushchev's speech at the twentieth congress, where it was admitted that "the threatening danger which hung over our Fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the Party by Stalin himself."

In less than four weeks the Nazi offensive drove 420 miles into the Soviet Union. Out of 170 Soviet divisions, 100 were annihilated or put out of action. And further huge defeats were sustained before the Nazi advance was finally halted at Stalingrad in 1943.

When Solzhenitsyn, as a young artillery captain, drew the same conclusion as Khrushchev concerning the conduct of the war and communicated it to a friend on another front, he was rewarded with 11 years in Stalin's prison camps. According to Harrison Salisbury in a background article written for the *Times*, "The two [friends] long since had agreed on what the trouble with Russia was. It was Stalin, not Communism as a system."

Inside prison, according to Salisbury, "Mr. Solzhenitsyn entered into argument after argument . . . fiercely defending Communism and the principles, as he understood them, of Lenin." It was only after years inside the prison camps that Solzhenitsyn's faith in socialism was shaken—it took



Stalin's death in 1953 loosed a massive wave of protest in the workers states, which ultimately forced the abolition of many of the forced labor camps. Above, Hungary, 1956.

Stalinism to do that.

Unfortunately, Solzhenitsyn projects his hatred of the Soviet bureaucracy backward upon the Soviet state before its Stalinization. He dates his history of repression 1918-1956, and it is clear from the excerpts in the *Times* that he considers the measures that the Bolsheviks resorted to under conditions of civil war to be of the same character as Stalin's purges.

Solzhenitsyn ignores the fact that in the early 1920s the Bolsheviks were fighting against privilege and for the preservation of the gains of the revolution. They had the active support of the majority of the population. And while Solzhenitsyn condemns the terror of the Bolsheviks, he forgets the anti-Semitic pogroms of the counter-revolutionary armies and the imperialist invasion of the new Soviet republic.

Lenin explained in February 1920: "We were forced to use terror because of the terror practiced by the Entente, when strong world powers threw their hordes against us, not avoiding any type of conduct. We would not have lasted two days had we not answered these attempts of officers and White Guardists in a merciless fashion; this meant the use of terror, but this was forced on us by the terrorist methods of the Entente."

The counterrevolutionaries were unable to destroy the fledgling Soviet regime, but the destruction wrought by the civil war, coming on top of the ravages of World War I, left Russia in ruins. The Russian Empire had been one of the poorest and most backward countries in Europe to begin with, and following the civil war

it was subjected to an economic blockade by the imperialist powers.

Within the Soviet Union difficulty was piled on top of difficulty, while in the rest of Europe the revolutionary upsurge that followed World War I was defeated. The result was the demoralization of the Soviet workers and peasants and the development of a self-seeking bureaucracy. More and more people who held posts in the economic and state apparatus, and even in the Communist Party, began to take the attitude of simply looking out for themselves.

Stalin became the supreme spokesman for this crystallizing bureaucracy. He established its hegemony by defeating the revolutionary Marxists organized by Trotsky in the Left Opposition and then proceeded to use bureaucratic terror to stifle all opposition and independent thought among the Soviet working people. His aim was to secure the privileges of the ruling caste. By identifying this process with Leninism, Solzhenitsyn is confusing the revolutionary impulse of the masses with its opposite.

Lenin a tyrant?

The use of frame-up trials, the imprisonment of innocent people, the brutal torture, and the extraction of phony confessions—all this was introduced by Stalin after the defeat of the Left Opposition. In his attempt to link Stalin's purges with Lenin, Solzhenitsyn goes to the point of virtual falsification.

He makes it sound as if Lenin was calling for a bloody 1930s-style purge in his article on "How to Organize Competition." Lenin, he says,

we ourselves were the same kind of people as *those present* at this event. We, too, were from that powerful tribe of "zeks" [prison camp inmates], unique on the face of the earth, the only kind of people who could devour prehistoric lizard *with pleasure*.

* * *

For those left behind there is the long tail of a wrecked and devastated life. And the attempt to deliver food parcels. But the answer comes from the windows in barking voices: "There is no one here by that name!" "We never heard of him!" Yes, and just to get to that window in the worst days in Leningrad took five days of standing in line. Maybe only after half a year or a year does the arrested person respond at all, or else they toss out: "Deprived of the right to correspond." That means—once and for all. "Deprived of the right to correspond" indicates, almost without fail, "Has been shot."

"proclaimed the common, united purpose of a 'purge' of the Russian earth of all harmful insects."

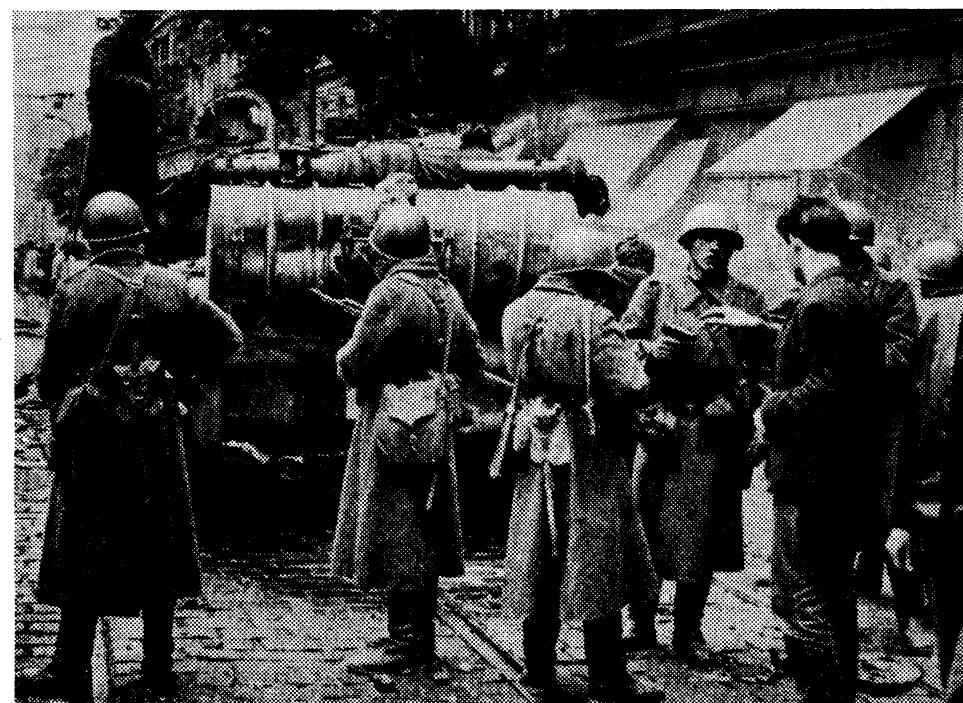
"Within the term of *insects* he included not only all class enemies, but also 'workers, malingering at their work,' for example, typesetters at the Petrograd party printing plants."

The technique of dishonestly utilizing portions of an article—here less than one line out of nine-and-a-half pages—is generally favored by the Stalinist press in its hatchet jobs on Solzhenitsyn. In this case, it conveys a flavor of ruthlessness not in keeping with the point of the article, which, in Lenin's words, was that:

"Far from extinguishing competition, socialism, on the contrary, for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really *wide* and on a really *mass* scale, for actually drawing the majority of working people into a field of labor in which they can display their abilities, develop their capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people whom capitalism crushed, suppressed, and strangled in thousands and millions."

Stalinist miseducation

The political mistakes and lack of perspective evidenced by Solzhenitsyn were fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Only the Trotskyist movement has developed a complete Marxist



Czechoslovakia, 1968. Kremlin bureaucrats must still use political repression to maintain their privileges. Attack on Solzhenitsyn is part of a larger attack on all those struggling for democratic rights.

critique of Stalinism. But its writings were banned in the Soviet Union, and the actual history of the CPSU was falsified in order to bolster the rule of the bureaucracy. The last Trotskyists in the Soviet penal camps were murdered in 1938—seven years before Solzhenitsyn's arrest.

Solzhenitsyn's lack of knowledge about the real history of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state is indicated by his confusion of the "Worker's Opposition"—a semianarchist grouping—with the Trotskyists.

The Stalinist terror would never have succeeded in its aim of demoralizing and depoliticizing the Soviet workers without the campaign of miseducation that accompanied it. The result was the loss of a whole generation of revolutionary youth.

Although Solzhenitsyn has accepted the Stalinist lie that the current rulers are the genuine continuators of Leninism, it remains to his credit that he continues the fight for democratic rights in the USSR instead of lapsing into self-serving cynicism.

'Vile outpourings'?

As was to be expected, the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the Communist Party, rushed into print with a denunciation of Solzhenitsyn's "vile outpourings" and "anti-Soviet counter-

revolutionary fumes." But Solzhenitsyn's political errors hardly qualify him as the source of counterrevolutionary danger to the Soviet Union. That honor belongs to U.S. imperialism, which Brezhnev is busy wooing.

To the extent that Solzhenitsyn fights for democratic rights, he fights in the interest of the entire Soviet population and of genuine socialism. In fact, the attack on Solzhenitsyn is really one more step against the Soviet opposition movement as a whole, and it should be answered in that light.

Many of the Soviet dissidents consider themselves to be revolutionary socialists, while others do not. But their struggle for democratic liberties is one that will benefit the Soviet people as a whole. Antisocialist ideology should be answered in open debate—something the Stalinist bureaucrats are incapable of doing because they have repudiated genuine socialism.

It is a bitter commentary on the nature of Stalinism that the truth about the bureaucratic regime in the USSR can be used as a weapon by apologists for capitalism. *The Gulag Archipelago* lifts a corner of the veil over political repression in the Soviet Union, and the capitalist press is getting the maximum mileage out of it. But the responsibility for giving the imperialists this weapon lies not with Solzhenitsyn but with the bureaucracy

that has carried out the crimes he relates.

However, more important than the attempts of the capitalist media to use Solzhenitsyn for their own ends is the impact of his example inside the Soviet Union. By standing up to the bureaucracy, he encourages the nationalities oppressed by the Kremlin's policy of "Russification" to also stand up and demand their rights. His example will be emulated by other intellectuals and by students fighting for the right to read what they want and say what they want, as well as by workers denied the right to their own independent organizations.

The massive potential of the struggle for democratic rights in the workers states has been shown by events in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. That struggle can restore the vision of a free, socialist future, which has been clouded by the crimes of Stalinism.

And there is no doubt that it will be in the battle for democratic rights that the new revolutionary leadership of the Soviet working class will be forged—a leadership that will stand at the head of the antibureaucratic revolution inside the USSR and that will play its part in the extension of the socialist revolution to the rest of the world.

Soviet life under Stalin

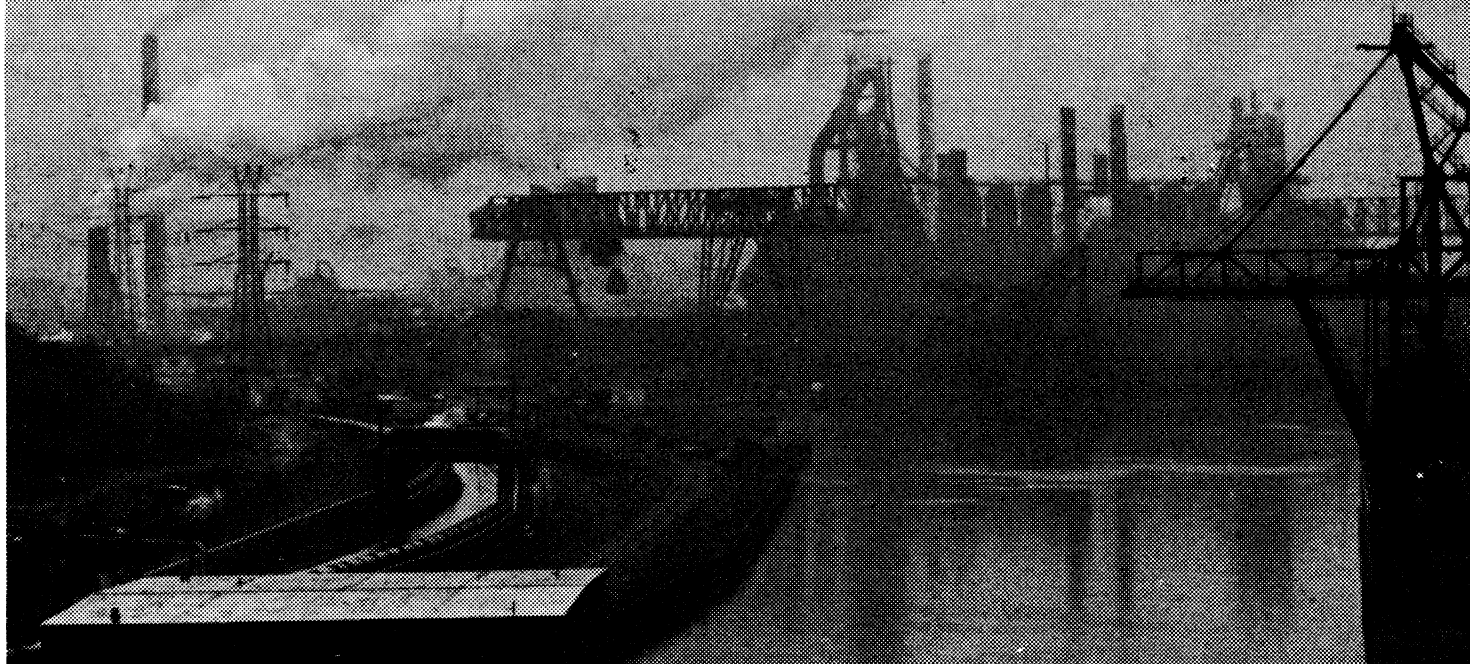
The following are excerpts from *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*.

In 1949 some friends and I came upon a news item in the magazine *Priroda* [Nature] of the Academy of Sciences. It reported in tiny letters that in the course of excavations on the Kolyma River a subterranean ice lens, actually a frozen ancient stream, had been discovered—and in it were found frozen specimens of prehistoric fauna some tens of thousands of years old. Whether fish or lizard these were preserved in so fresh a state that those present immediately broke open the ice and devoured them with pleasure on the spot.

As for us, we understood instantly. We could picture the entire scene down to the smallest detail: how those present broke the ice with tense haste; how, flouting the lofty interests of ichthyology and elbowing each other to be first, they tore off pieces of the prehistoric flesh and dragged it over to the bonfire to thaw it and bolt it down.

We understood instantly because

Energy crisis: polluters on the rampage



Ohio's Cuyahoga River and Republic Steel plant

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

By CAROLINE LUND

In many major cities, when people get up for work in the morning they listen to the news on the radio, listen to the weather report, and then are treated to the information that "the air quality is expected to be unsatisfactory today."

If it's going to rain or get cold, you can take your umbrella or wear a sweater. But what can you do about the air quality? You suffer.

The pollution makes your eyes smart. It irritates your throat. When you get to work you find bits of dirt on your face.

But the long-term dangers of air pollution are even greater than those we notice every day. And both industry and the government are using the current energy crisis to roll back pollution control standards and regulations as much as possible.

What does air pollution do to human beings?

One of the major pollutants from the burning of fuel is sulfur. An unpublished study by the Environmental Protection Agency, disclosed by the *Washington Post* last February, concluded, according to the *Post* summary: "Eight to nine years of exposure to normal city sulfur levels triggered decreases in lung ventilation in children and reduced the ability of asthmatics to cope with other diseases. Six years of exposure caused increases in croup and chronic bronchitis, diseases which can lead to far more serious illness."

Normal families exposed for three or more years to urban air pollution were found to suffer from more

influenza than people living outside the cities. . . ."

A federal report done by the National Academy of Sciences in 1971 drew attention to the danger from lead particles in the air due to combustion of gasoline with lead additives. The study said the lead level in city air "poses a significant threat" to children, garage workers, and other workers continuously exposed to lead-polluted air. Lead poisoning can produce brain damage.

Surveys of children in large cities showed that in many, the level of lead in their blood was "one-fifth to one-third that of the the concentration that causes clinical lead poisoning."

Just last month, the National Center for Disease Control disclosed that at least 2,700 residents of El Paso had absorbed dangerous levels of lead from a nearby smelter. It is feared they could suffer "subtle but possibly permanent neurologic or psychologic" aftereffects.

Studies have found that asbestos, another air pollutant, has caused cancer among asbestos workers. This finding would support the possibility that asbestos particles in city air are increasing the risk of cancer for masses of people.

Miners are another sector of the working class that bears the brunt of pollution by the capitalists. Four thousand miners die each year from black lung disease caused by breathing coal dust.

In the cities, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican ghettos suffer most from pollution. In New York, for ex-

ample, city officials have conceded that even if *average* air pollution levels are reduced by 1975 to levels prescribed by the 1970 Clean Air Act, residents of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant will still be choking on pollution. This is because ghetto landlords will refuse to spend the money to upgrade the oil burners in the dilapidated tenements.

There are other effects of air pollution that seem to be of less immediate danger but whose long-term effects nobody knows. For example, the rising level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere from the burning of fuel has the effect of raising the temperature of the entire planet.

At certain times, air inversions can cause drastic increases in air pollution. This happened in both Birmingham and Pittsburgh last October. Industries had to close down, and the very young, the elderly, pregnant women, and people with lung ailments had to stay indoors.

Such disasters are only a warning of even greater pollution catastrophes that the future will hold if the decaying capitalist system is not replaced with a rational, socialist planned economy.

The most powerful monopolies—including oil, auto, and utilities companies—have worked together to sabotage all efforts toward pollution control regulations. Antipollution measures cut into profits, and profits are what matter to the monopolies.

The record of the government has been to accommodate the profit-gougers. In 1970, under mounting popular pressure, Congress passed the Clean Air Act, which, among other things, required that by 1975 cars had to be designed to emit 90 percent less carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons than 1970 models. By 1976 they would have to achieve the same improvement in regard to nitrogen oxides.

No sooner was the bill passed than the government began to give in to pressure from the big business counterattack. By early 1973 former Environmental Protection Agency administrator William Ruckelshaus was saying he thought some "new flexibility" was needed with regard to the law.

And sure enough, in April Ruckelshaus was "flexible" enough to grant the request from the auto companies for a year's extension of the 1975 deadline.

Using the energy crisis as an alibi, the Senate and House voted last month to extend the deadline even longer—the Senate version for one

year more, and the House version for two years.

Next to automobiles, coal burning industries—especially the power companies—are the second largest source of air pollution. Another measure passed by the House last month opened the way for power plants to shift from low-sulfur to high-sulfur fuel.

By September, the Environmental Protection Agency had already "revised" its pollution regulations to accommodate power plants that claimed they could not meet federal pollution standards even if they used the latest antipollution devices.

According to the Sept. 7 *New York Times*, "these companies would be allowed to continue to pollute the air at present levels until there was a danger to public health. At that point they would be required to curtail or shut down operations."

What a solution!—let the air deteriorate until people are endangered, then shut off the power people need.

The energy crisis is highlighting how the entire organization of industry, transportation, and energy development under capitalism is designed to maximize profits, not efficiency or human well-being.

In the area of transportation, for example, the auto companies build cars that not only waste fuel but are deliberately designed for "planned obsolescence" so that people have to buy a new one every couple of years. Gasoline mileage of American cars has consistently *declined* over the past 25 years.

The fuel shortage has greatly increased the urgency of the need for efficient mass public transportation. Mass transportation would save huge amounts of fuel as well as air pollution. Well-planned mass transit systems could greatly improve the safety and convenience of transportation for masses of working people.

But the serious development of mass

Oil profits soar

The following table, taken from *Business Week*, shows the spectacular profits the oil monopolies are making off the energy crisis.

The Rise in Oil Company Profits

Net Profit on Domestic and International Operations
First Nine Months of 1973

	Millions of Dollars	Percentage Increase Over 1972
Atlantic Richfield	\$178.5	37%
Exxon	1,656.0	59
Getty	82.4	60
Gulf	570.0	60
Mobil	571.2	38
Occidental	55.4	417
Shell	253.4	41
Standard Oil of Calif.	560.5	40
Standard Oil (Indiana)	389.8	32
Standard Oil (Ohio)	62.5	55
Sun	154.9	43
Texaco	838.9	35
Industry Composite (31 companies)	6,413.3	47

transit is not part of the government's program for how to meet the energy crisis. Nixon proposes all kinds of ineffective and cosmetic measures but ignores mass transit—a step that would be both effective and beneficial to the majority of Americans.

Why? Because the building of mass transit facilities would not be profitable to the monopolists who run the government in their own interests. This is also why the present inadequate mass transit systems have been allowed to deteriorate into their present crowded, noisy, dirty, and dangerous condition.

A massive effort is needed to build new, safe, clean, efficient mass transit systems. Such construction should be financed through taxing all the polluting industries and taxing the superprofits that the oil monopolies are making from the fuel shortage they themselves created.

Fuel cutbacks: deadly results

For most people the holidays were a time of Santa, office parties, egg-nog, gifts, family gatherings, a red-nosed reindeer, and friendly yuletide cheer. But for Basil Heise—because of the energy crisis—it was a time of grief.

Heise was the grandson of Katherine and Frank Baker of Schenectady, N.Y. A GI free on a holiday leave, Heise visited his grandparents Christmas Eve to take them to dinner. But when he arrived he found the couple, both in their 90s, frozen to death from lack of heat.

A medical examiner announced that the couple had apparently been dead for two days, rendered help-

less from "circulatory collapse secondary to exposure to cold."

The local power company had cut off their heat, claiming nonpayment on a delinquent bill.

To Mohawk Power Corporation it was time to teach the scofflaws a lesson. Moreover, there is an energy crisis, and they would be "justified." The couple was found dead in a huddled embrace, struggling to keep warm.

Did they try to call for help? Very likely they did. But they would not have reached anyone. You see, the phone company had disconnected service the week before—also for "nonpayment of bills," a spokesman said.

Oil industry secrecy provokes growing doubt about 'shortage'

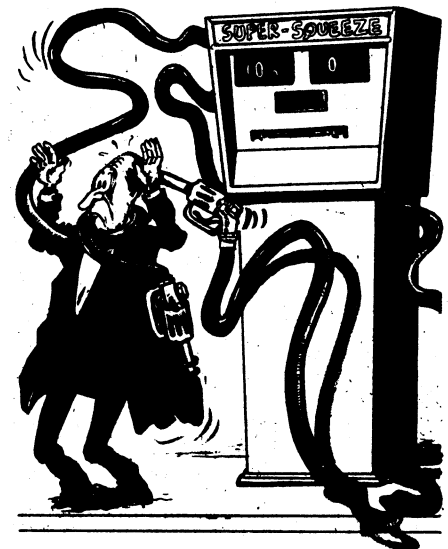
By JEAN WALKER

The energy crisis continues to take its toll on the lives and living standards of working people.

The wholesale price rise of 2.2 percent (seasonally adjusted) in December brought the overall annual rise in 1973 to the highest level since the end of World War II.

Unemployment in December crept up for the second consecutive month from 4.7 to 4.9 percent, according to government figures.

In many cities drivers were forced to wait in long lines to buy gasoline at more than 50 cents a gallon, with some facing even worse price-gouging.



Utilities companies across the country are on an all-out drive to raise their rates proportionate to the drop in power usage due to customers' conservation measures.

To the old and the weak, the misery of icy apartments and homes led to tragedy, with an elderly couple and an infant freezing to death in New York state.

All these hardships and dislocations in the lives of masses of Americans are said to be primarily due to "the fuel shortage." But after several months of the energy crisis, masses of people were questioning whether the "shortage" was not a gigantic fraud.

The Jan. 14 *U.S. News & World Report* ran an interview with Nixon's energy chief William Simon entitled "Gas shortage—fact or fiction?"

In it, Simon hastens to assure readers that "there definitely is one." However, the administration spokesman felt forced to concede in his next breath that "many people will say" the shortage "was contrived by the oil companies to get higher prices" or it was "contrived by the Administration to get Watergate off page 1."

Newsweek's article this week is entitled "Energy: No shortage of suspicions." The newsweekly quoted a shoe salesman from Bangor, Maine, who expressed a view that is becoming more and more widespread: "I think there's an energy crisis but I



ENERGY CHIEF SIMON: 'Of course there's a shortage.'

think it's man-made. I think the President is in the hands of the oil interests."

The *New York Times* noted editorially that popular disbelief in the fuel shortage is an international problem for the imperialist rulers. The *Times* editors warned both the Heath government in Britain and the Nixon administration about growing public sentiment that the government may be

Continued on page 22

Cleveland UAW calls for rally vs fuel prices

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—By unanimous vote, delegates to the United Auto Workers Community Action Program (CAP) here approved a call for a march on Washington to protest skyrocketing fuel prices and possible gasoline rationing.

The proposal was made Jan. 2 at the regular meeting of CAP delegates by Wayne Medders, president of Ford Local 1250. This is the largest union local in the area, with a membership of 10,000. Medders also suggested a nationwide work stoppage by auto workers to reinforce the march.

Speaking in favor of the motion, John Sahayda, coordinator for the CAP councils, told the delegates that an effective march would require "the total membership in the total country."

Talk of the fuel shortage and the need to support the Farm Workers' boycott—under attack by officials of the Teamsters union, the Retail Clerks union and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union in Cleveland—dominated the monthly meeting. Anger with the government, disillusion with its policies, and fear of widespread unemployment were expressed by many delegates.

John Yates, CAP president, characterized the fuel crisis as "a conspiracy by the oil companies and the Nixon administration to increase the price of gasoline and oil products for the consumers."

Yates said that the major oil companies contributed more than \$11-million to Nixon's reelection, and the public cannot expect Nixon to solve the fuel problems.

Yates, well known for his outspoken criticism of the war in Indochina and a speaker at antiwar demonstrations in Cleveland, told *The Militant* that the proposed one-day march should include not only the UAW but "all of labor, including the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO unions."

"After the rally," Yates said, "the people would disperse into the halls of Congress to put pressure on their congressmen. Now is the time to do it so as to bring attention to the American public that the workingman is the backbone of the economy."

The proposed action must be approved and implemented by the UAW Executive Board in Detroit.

In other business, the CAP council here reaffirmed its support of the United Farm Workers (UFW) and its picketing of supermarkets protesting the sale of California lettuce and grapes picked by non-UFW labor.

Yates criticized David McDonald, president of Local 880 Retail Clerks union, and Frank Cimino, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters District Union 427, for placing a newspaper advertisement condemning the farm workers support groups for their picketing. The estimated \$3,000 paid for the ad, Yates said, would pay a UFW organizer's salary for more than 10 years.

Thousands thrown out of work by auto companies in Michigan

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—For hundreds of thousands of workers—especially auto workers—the energy crisis will mean the anxiety and drastic cut in living standards brought by being thrown out of work.

Michigan auto workers are bearing the brunt of the massive layoffs now being ordered by the capitalists, who are using the pretext of the fuel shortage. Of the more than 700,000 workers employed by the "Big Three"—General Motors Corporation, Ford Motor Company, and Chrysler Corporation—more than 148,000 are now on either temporary or indefinite layoff or face it in the next month. Of these, some 63,000 are in Michigan.

Layoffs are heaviest in the plants producing the bigger model cars because car buyers are switching to smaller cars to spend less money on fuel.

The impact of the energy crisis on the Linden, N.J., GM plant was spotlighted in a Jan. 4 *New York Times* article. This plant produces Cadillacs and the luxury Oldsmobile models. Some 4,500 hourly workers face layoffs.

The *Times* reported, "Most of the Linden workers were skeptical about the gasoline shortage that underlies the glut of larger, gas-consuming automobiles."

"It's all contrived," said Earl Stutzman, president of Local 595 of the United Auto Workers at Linden. "It's just like the meat shortage. As soon as they got their price there was plenty of meat. As soon as the oil companies get their price, there will be plenty of oil."

Linden highlights the fact that the first to be laid off are those with the least seniority—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women, who make up 60 percent of Linden's layoffs. Every one of the 350 women is to be laid off.

In Detroit, Arab auto workers will join Blacks and women in being the first fired.

It is estimated that some 15,000 Detroit area auto workers are Arab immigrants. Like Blacks and women, they occupy the lowest rung of the auto employment ladder—the hardest, dirtiest production-line jobs.

The state unemployment office in Michigan predicts a rise to 400,000 unemployed early this year.

Unemployment benefits will vary greatly for these workers. Those lucky enough to have worked more than one year for an auto company will collect not only their weekly worker's compensation check but benefits from the company-paid Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) plan. Workers can collect up to 95 percent of their straight-time hourly pay for up to half the time they have worked for the company under this plan.

However, the SUB fund is limited to the sums already paid in by the auto companies. It is not big enough to meet the demands of such massive

layoffs as are happening now. Some of the SUB funds are way below the point they should be, as the UAW has allowed payments to the fund to be past due.

It is estimated, for instance, that Chrysler's SUB is only 50 to 60 percent of what it should be.

Many of those laid off, however, are not eligible for SUBs. If they have worked more than 14 weeks, they are eligible for unemployment compensation, ranging from \$16 to \$92 a week, a totally inadequate sum, even at the maximum rate, in light of today's soaring cost of living. This may be collected under Michigan law for up to 26 weeks.

Unemployment lines are already swelling, such as those at Michigan Employment Security offices on Conner and West Michigan avenues. It takes hours to reach the head of the line.

Many of the production workers being laid off are not eligible for any benefits whatsoever—victims of the "89-day layoff." Under UAW contracts, the companies are allowed to hire production workers at up to 60 cents an hour below the going rate until the time they join the union—a 90-day waiting period.

The auto companies thus have a strong incentive to lay these workers off before the end of the 90-day period and hire a new batch of workers.

To date the UAW International, headquartered in Detroit, has done nothing to fight the layoffs—such as demanding that the workweek be reduced and the available work spread around to all the auto workers at no loss in pay, or fighting for adequate unemployment compensation. Such compensation should be at union wages to ensure an adequate standard of living, and for the duration of the layoffs, regardless of how long the worker has been employed.



Auto workers: jobs uncertain.

Interview with student leader

Thailand since October revolt

By GEORGE JOHNSON

A new National Assembly came into being in Thailand in the last week of December. It is to write a new constitution and oversee elections scheduled for next summer.

The new Assembly replaces the existing National Assembly, described by the Dec. 19 *New York Times* as "laden with holdovers from the ousted military regime of Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn." Thanom was toppled by a massive mobilization of students and workers in October.

The new Assembly is part of an attempt by King Phumiphol Aduldet to establish a stable government to replace Thanom's military dictatorship. It is a concession to the mass pressure that has continued in Thailand since Thanom fled the country.

While the king and the Thai bourgeoisie, and their U.S. and Japanese imperialist backers, are hoping to defuse this mass pressure, they also in-



Thai PEN Club of America
SEKSAN PRASERTKUL: 'There must be a change in the system.'

tend to severely limit any concessions that are made.

A case in point is the way the new Assembly was formed. The king appointed 2,346 "bureaucrats, politicians, farmers, professors, taxi drivers, soldiers, novelists, classical dancers, comedians, journalists and others," as the *Times* put it, to choose 299 people from their own ranks to make up the new Assembly.

In forming the new Assembly, the king managed not only to eliminate some of the "military holdovers," but also avoided giving any but a token role to the most dynamic elements of Thai society, the students and workers who toppled Thanom.

Students led the October mobilizations, and student-led protests have continued since, although on a lesser scale. The Thai working class is small—three million out of a mostly peasant population of about 35 million—and remains to be organized into trade unions; nevertheless, Thai workers have been involved in as many as 20 new strikes a day since Thanom fell.

There is much discussion in Thailand of what sort of government is needed. The role of foreign capital, especially Japanese and U.S., is also being sharply questioned.

Radical ideas discussed

Radical and socialist ideas are being examined in this discussion. For ex-

ample, students recently forced the dean of architecture at Chulalongkorn University to resign. Under him, the students charged, the curriculum was "too capitalist-oriented" and too "hide-bound and traditional."

The *Militant* recently interviewed a leader of the Thai student movement, Seksan Prasertkul, after he spoke at a meeting of more than 400 Thais at Columbia University in New York City. The meeting was part of a whirlwind tour by Seksan of major American cities. He is the president of the newly formed Federation of Independent Students of Thailand (FIST).

FIST was organized because Seksan and others were critical of the leadership of the main student group, the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), for its support to the interim government of Premier Sanya Thammasak, and for trying to hold back the October demonstrations.

In describing slides he was showing during the meeting, Seksan said the mobilizations had not been limited to students, but included many workers. He said, "The issue of political liberty covers all strata of society. I saw my professors walking along with the workers. They may not know each other, but they are walking on the same street for the same purpose."

"Everybody is marching for political freedom," Seksan said. "You have workers, of course. You have students, whether high school, university, or vocational school students, and you have ordinary housewives, intellectuals, government officials who favor political freedom."

Seksan reported that among the students, those from the vocational schools played a bigger role than the wealthier students from the higher universities. The vocational school students, he said, "constituted the major part of the demonstrators. And they were the most militant. They fought with guns, molotov cocktails, with any kind of weapon they could find. Many of them died."

He displayed photographs of victims of attempts by the army and police to crush the demonstrations. Many had been killed with U.S.-supplied M-16 rifles. Others had been stabbed to death with U.S. bayonets.

He indicated the extent of popular support for the movement by citing the examples of ROTC cadets, who joined the demonstrations, and of armory workers who turned weapons over to students.

Who rules Thailand?

Despite the removal from the Assembly of some military officials, a fundamental change has not yet occurred in Thai politics, even though the masses have intervened decisively to overthrow one regime. As an Associated Press dispatch from Bangkok reported, the makeup of the doubly handpicked new Assembly "did not foreshadow any radical changes in the 299-seat body."

Seksan, commenting on the situation just prior to the setting up of the new Assembly, said, "We still have many thousands of remnants of the old ruling clique." He went on, "The change of a few individuals doesn't do any good. . . . There must be a change in the system."

During his talk, Seksan gave an example of how foreign capital controls Thailand. He told how foreign airlines, such as TWA, JAL, and SAS,



Thai PEN Club of America
Boston, Oct. 27. Five hundred Thai students demonstrated against deposed dictator, Thanom Kittikachorn, who has taken refuge in U.S.

own the tourist businesses, including major hotels. "They get the money—not the Thai people," he said, "Even the doormen at these hotels have been imported" from India.

A striking example of the awareness of Thai students of the role of foreign capital was the Asia-wide economic conference held in Bangkok at the end of November. The meeting, called by the NSCT, decided to organize protests against Japanese imperialist penetration of their economies when Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka goes on a tour of Asia later this month.

Seksan said that despite the NSCT's conservatism, delegates from other countries turned this "ordinary economic conference" into a demonstration: "They marched to the U.S. embassy, chanting, 'Yankee Go Home!'"

U.S. military bases

To shout "Yankee Go Home" in Thailand means to call for the removal of 35,000 U.S. troops, mostly Air Force personnel recently engaged in the terror-bombing of Indochina. There were protests by Thai students against the U.S. bases before the toppling of Thanom.

It is clear that many Thais object to the stationing of imperialist forces on Thai soil, and that the presence of the U.S. bases is an explosive issue. Thai Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapaya found it necessary to assure Thais that his government "has placed a ceiling on American military personnel at 33,000," according to the Dec. 25 *Bangkok Post*. Dawee added that "at present there are actually only 28,000," although more than 35,000 remain there, according to the Jan. 4 *New York Times*.

It is also clear that the process of radicalization in Thailand is continuing after the big steps forward in October. Seksan told the 400 Thais who attended the Columbia meeting that the October mobilizations "showed Thais that they can fight the people who control them." He said the demonstrations "gave people confidence in their political power. This is a nationwide confidence."

U.S. plans new aid to Thieu; threatens N. Vietnam

By DAVID RUSSELL

An ominous series of U.S. threats against both North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam was topped off Jan. 6 by reports that the Nixon administration is planning to ask for at least \$400-million in additional military aid for the Saigon regime. Leslie Gelb, a former Pentagon official who is now a reporter for the *New York Times*, wrote, "This figure would be in addition to the \$813-million already appropriated by Congress for military aid to South Vietnam for fiscal 1974."

Gelb says that for some, \$400-million isn't enough. "One group, led by the American ambassador to Saigon . . . wants to provide Saigon with modern sophisticated weapons in a total aid package of about \$1-billion."

However, the Pentagon disagrees. As one of his old buddies told Gelb, "We shipped so much stuff to South Vietnam in the two months prior to the cease-fire, plus what went since then, that a large new resupply of tanks, artillery pieces and planes would only sit around the docks in crates."

The decision to push for a new arms package for the Thieu dictatorship comes less than three weeks after Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's Dec. 20 meeting in Paris with Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Takashi Oka wrote of that meeting: "Concerned over the escalating level of fighting in South Vietnam, the American Secretary of State is expected to tell his longtime negotiating partner that the United States is still capable of intervening militarily."

Just five days before the Kissinger-Tho meeting, Nixon's defense secretary also threatened the Vietnamese. On Dec. 15 James Schlesinger said, "Hanoi must still take into account the military forces of the United States in the event of an all-out attack."

Taking his cue from Schlesinger and Kissinger, Thieu announced on Dec. 29 that no general election as called for by the cease-fire agreements would be held in South Vietnam. And on Jan. 4 he made what the *Washington Post* called "Thieu's most threatening speech since the cease-fire was signed nearly a year ago."

Saying that the Vietnam war had begun again, Thieu called openly for carrying the fight into the PRG-controlled areas.

It appears as if Washington thinks it can get away with increasing the pressure against the Vietnamese revolution. Michael Getler reported one of the reasons why in the Dec. 16 *Washington Post*. He wrote that in addition to the fear of direct U.S. intervention, "Another factor cited by Schlesinger that may restrain Hanoi was that 'the degree of support and cohesion in what was formerly called the Communist world is now less than it was.' This implies an administration belief that U.S. relations with China or Russia or both may be able to hold down war supplies to a level that would not sustain a massive attack with advanced weapons for a long period."

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JANUARY 18, 1974

Spy scandal explodes myth of 'neutral,' 'progressive' Sweden

[The following article appeared in the December 10 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. On December 13 the two journalists Peter Bratt and Jan Guillou, together with former intelligence agent Hakan Isacson, were brought to trial for espionage activities. On January 4 the three were found guilty and sentenced to one year imprisonment each.]

By Kenth-Ake Andersson

Göteborg

Sweden, a country that many regard as a peaceful neutral state with a progressive government, has now had its own Watergate, or perhaps we should say Waterloo? It has been shaken by the worst court scandal in its modern history, a case that is now leading to a serious crisis both for the state apparatus in general and for the ruling Social Democratic party, the SAP (Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparti—Social Democratic Workers party).

The affair began in May of this year when the magazine *Folket i Bild-Kulturfront* exposed a previously completely unknown Swedish espionage organization, the Informationsbyrå [Information Office].

This magazine is a semimonthly put out by a collective organized on a popular-front program. The nucleus is composed of Stalinists from the KFML [Kommunistiska Förbundet Marxist-Leninsterna—Marxist-Leninist Communist League, the largest of the Swedish far-left organizations, which has now changed its name to Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti, the the Communist party of Sweden]. Around this nucleus are grouped populists, nationalists, and petty-bourgeois democrats on a diffuse program calling for "people's culture," and "freedom of expression," and so on.

In No. 9 for 1973, *Folket i Bild* published an article by two journalists, Peter Bratt and Jan Guillou, under the title "Sweden's Espionage." The article revealed that Sweden has a secret spy organization, the Informationsbyrå, which does the work that cannot be left to the "official" Swedish security police, the SAPO. The authors gave a detailed account of the IB's organization, its various offices, its personnel, and, among other

things, lists of the telephone numbers used by the spies as well as the license numbers of the cars they had at their disposal.

But the most interesting thing in the article was the revelations about the IB's activity. The accusation was made that it worked in close collusion with the various espionage organizations in the Western countries, including the CIA and the West German BND [Bundes Nachrichtendienst—Federal Information Agency], with the aim of getting data about the East European countries. The IB was continually exchanging information with these countries and thus violating the official Swedish policy of neutrality. This part of the IB's activity involved profiles of the economic and political conditions in Eastern Europe, the interpretation of secret sources, recruiting East European refugees for espionage work, and so on.

Another aspect of the IB's activity involved collaboration with the Israeli spy agency, Shin Bet. Swedish ship captains were said to have collected information in Arab harbors, which was later passed on to the Israelis. Furthermore, the IB was accused of handing over information to the Israelis about the activity of the Palestinians in Sweden and, among other things, it searched and burglarized the homes of leading Palestinians.

In this area too, the magazine made a spectacular revelation. In 1970, the IB was supposed to have taken part in a burglary of the Egyptian Embassy in Stockholm. Some IB agents stood guard while Shin Bet operatives broke into the embassy and photographed important documents.

A third field of work for the IB was inside Sweden. It was reported to have compiled a list of all the radical left activists in the country (supposedly including 20,000 names). Besides this, it sent agents into various left-wing organizations and solidarity movements. It was also said to have had agents observing the miners strike in Kiruna in 1969-70 (which led an upswing in the workers struggles in Sweden), soldiers conferences, and the Social Democratic party congresses.

In the following issue of *Folket i Bild*, No. 10, which was dated May 17, the first phase of the IB affair came to a conclusion. It was demonstrated that the journalists had very solid proof of their assertions.



Folket i Bild published photos of agents engaged in spying on workers movement.

The most sensational thing in this issue was that it presented a number of different agents from IB and illustrated the kind of work they did by pictures of documents and letters.

IB Plants Provocateurs in Swedish and Refugee Groups

The most interesting revelation was the exposure of Gunnar Ekberg, a student who went into the Swedish FNL movement (the solidarity movement with Vietnam, the largest of the far-left organizations, dominated by the Maoists) on the orders of the IB. After a period of activity in the FNL movement, he also joined a number of other left organizations, the KFML, the Swedish-Chinese Friendship Society, and SDS (Studenterna för ett Demokratiskt Samhälle—Students for a Democratic Society, the driving force in the student movement of that time, an explicitly socialist and revolutionary organization).

Ekberg's most important work, however, was in the Palestinian movement, which he helped to start, and in which he played a leading role. In many meetings with activists and leading Palestinians, he recorded conversations with hidden microphones. Internal documents were handed over to IB. In the spring of 1969 Ekberg and IB agents broke into the FNL movement's offices in Göteborg, where they photographed the membership list as well as the list of all the contributors

to the fund for Vietnam.

Besides this, Ekberg acted as an agent provocateur. One of the first things he did in the Palestine movement was to make a leaflet with a clearly anti-Semitic message. In a later incident, he threatened to bomb an El-Al airliner.

Six or seven times the trusted Ekberg was able to visit Palestinian guerrilla camps in Lebanon and Jordan. Pictures appeared later in the press that showed Ekberg wearing a parachute and carrying an automatic rifle. Right after Ekberg's visit, the Israeli army raided this training camp.

Gunnar Ekberg immediately gave his story to the daily press, confirming the information about him. He had been an agent for IB. He had been paid 2,500 kronor (about US\$580 at current rate of exchange) a month and was given access to a car and traveling expenses while on the operations he reportedly carried out.

With these revelations, the first phase of the IB affair reached its conclusion. From the start, Bratt and Guillou had pressed the demand that their accusations be investigated by a parliamentary commission including representatives from all five parties (i.e., also the Communist party). The government refused to accept this demand but decided instead to let a state prosecutor examine the question. At the end of May this job was handed over to the

Continued on following page

...spy scandal explodes myths about Sweden

Continued from preceding page

chief prosecutor, Carl-Axel Robert. The two reporters declared their willingness to work with him, but in a statement in the press he brusquely rejected all offers of collaboration.

At the same time, the government began to change its tactics. It started to claim that any more articles would endanger the national security and could only benefit foreign powers. In particular, it seized on the fact that one of the reporters, Guillou, was not a Swedish citizen. (He was born and raised in Sweden but had a French father and therefore was registered at birth as a French citizen.) The first suggestions that the journalists were acting like spies started at this time but no one yet paid any attention to them.

All-Party Cover-Up During Elections

Then came a deafening silence about the IB case. Many officials had intervened directly with the mass media, appealing for discretion on the matter. Among other things, the Overbefälhavare (OB—Supreme Commander) personally visited *Expressen*, the country's biggest evening paper, and asked the editors to give the prosecutor "a chance to do his work." And he got it too. The liberal *Expressen* decided to shield the authorities.

In June, July, and August, the prosecutor continued his investigation in peace and quiet. In mid-September, Sweden went to the polls. It was the most inflammatory election campaign in the history of the country. The three bourgeois parties joined together in a coalition to try to topple the Social Democratic government.

The election results were extremely close. In the new Riksdag (parliament), the Social Democrats and Communists together won 175 seats, while the three bourgeois parties also won 175. A few thousand votes on either side would have decided the election. The situation in parliament now is untenable and will probably lead to a new election in the spring.

In the election campaign, the IB question played no role whatsoever. Apparently the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties agreed not to raise this sensitive matter. Even the Communist party respected this understanding. More notably, the KFML and *Folket i Bild* avoided the subject during the whole campaign. This was obviously "tactics." They feared that criticizing the regime over the IB case could bring down the government. But as a result they also missed the chance to carry the issue to broader layers of the population and make the politicians answer for their actions.

It was not until a week after the election that *Folket i Bild* took up the IB question again. This began the second phase of the affair. It started with a frontal attack. One of the two reporters, Peter Bratt, published a 200-page book entitled *IB och hotet mot vår säkerhet* (The IB and the Threat to Our Security) in which the accusations were repeated and broadened. Besides this, *Folket i Bild* published another extensive article with new accusations.

The new charges added considerable concreteness and breadth to the earlier revelations. The analysis of IB's or-



Swedish antiwar demonstration, April 1969. IB agents broke into offices of main Swedish antiwar group. While Premier Palme enhanced his image with Swedish people by criticizing Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam, Swedish agents were spying on North Vietnam and passing information to Washington.

ganization had been broadened, and in his book Peter Bratt showed in detail how the spy organization was linked to the various state economic concerns, private financial companies, employers associations, and the leadership of the Social Democratic party.

But what drew the most attention was the new facts about the IB's activity. According to Peter Bratt the IB was directly under the cabinet. Premier Olof Palme was supposed to have had regular meetings with the IB heads and have given direct orders for every concrete operation.

And the operations IB carried out included spying against North Vietnam. A Swedish colonel is supposed to have traveled to North Vietnam as an "aid expert." He gathered information on the social and economic conditions there, the effect of the bombing, and civilian morale, which he channeled through the IB to Washington.

As regards IB's activity in Sweden, it was now charged that it had a special department for espionage inside the Social Democratic party and its student organization.

The reaction to the new disclosures was instantaneous. On the same day the book and the new issue of *Folket i Bild* came out, the daily papers carried extensive reportage about the IB. But in the evening of the same day the mass media carried statements by members of the government who said that all the charges were "nonsense" and "drivel," while at the same time claiming that the exposure stories contained classified information whose publication threatened the security of the country.

In this case, the government announced that the matter had been turned over to the prosecutor's office for possible action against the newspapers for an abuse of freedom of the press.

What happened after that remains a mystery, but it showed the complete

subservience of the Swedish press to the authorities. All the papers and the radio and television network blacked out the whole IB affair.

In this period *Folket i Bild* and the other left organizations were forced to push the case alone. Their capacities for carrying out such a task were small, since the left organizations in Sweden are relatively isolated from the broad strata of the population. The possibilities were still more reduced because of *Folket i Bild's* clumsy political and tactical machinations. Right from the start, *Folket i Bild* had explained that it was not challenging the country's right to have an intelligence agency: "We must have our defenses." All they were demanding is that it should be under parliamentary control and be subject to supervision.

Moreover, it became apparent that *Folket i Bild* was using the disclosures about the IB strictly for its own narrow organizational and tactical purposes. Even before this, it was a standing joke in the far left that all of the agents mentioned in *Folket i Bild* were working against the KFML (the organization actually behind the magazine) or its front organizations. In no case was any spying revealed against any of the competing left organizations, against the "third period" Stalinists in the KFML (R), the Trotskyist RMF (Revolutionäre Marxistisk Förbund—Revolutionary Marxist League, the Swedish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), or the centrist Förbundet Kommunist (Communist League).

Was it really a coincidence that Bratt and Guillou only reported about the agents in the organization they themselves support? In a public meeting in Göteborg, they were asked directly from the floor whether they knew of any agents in other left organizations. They answered that they had identified four other agents but did not want to reveal their names because "this

is not a question of individuals," and these persons would be killed if they were exposed. They also explained that they had no intention of informing the leaders of these organizations that there were infiltrators in their group.

This political and tactical error by *Folket i Bild* made it impossible to build a united front of the left on the IB issue. Once again sectarianism threw a monkey wrench into the work of the Swedish left.

On Friday, October 19, Chief Prosecutor Robert presented his findings. They were immediately stamped secret by the government, and the mass media reported only that Robert had completely exonerated the Informationsbyrå from all accusations of criminal behavior. No evidence was produced on the burglary of the Egyptian Embassy. The fact that Gunnar Ekberg entered the offices of the FNL movement, SDS, and the KFML could not be called burglary. He had his own key!

Finally, the zealous Robert stated that the IB had in fact committed some irregularities in burglarizing the homes of Palestinians but that that had happened so long ago that the statute of limitations had run out. With this, he concluded his findings.

The next day, Saturday, October 20, in the United States President Nixon fired special prosecutor Cox for carrying his investigation of the Watergate affair too far. In Sweden, Palme didn't need to fire any prosecutor. The investigator had stayed within bounds.

But the affair was not over. The next, perhaps the most sensational, phase in the story now began. On October 22, Chief Prosecutor Robert ordered the two reporters Peter Bratt and Jan Guillou arrested and jailed on suspicion of spying. At the same time he ordered a search of their homes and the offices of *Folket i Bild*. This was an unexpected turn of events.

According to the Swedish law on freedom of the press, it is strictly forbidden for the authorities to investigate the sources of a statement made in the mass media.

The provision protecting the right of the press to inviolable professional secrecy is one of the cornerstones of Swedish democracy. Now it has been wiped away in a single stroke by Chief Prosecutor Robèrt, who managed to find a paragraph in the organic law making an exception—in cases of spying. This paragraph specified that the accused must have "worked at the behest of a foreign power." But through a radical new interpretation of the law, Robèrt managed to come up with a new conception: "indirect intent," that is, a foreign power could take advantage of the information that was revealed. According to this interpretation, all social criticism is espionage.

The police were very thorough. All the files of *Folket i Bild* were carted away, including the picture file. Even material that obviously concerned other questions was taken into custody. The search of the suspects' homes was similarly thorough. Among other things, they took a membership list of the Palestine movement that was being kept at Guillou's; his wife was a leader in the movement. A photographer who collaborated with the magazine was arrested, along with another person who was not named and whose role remains obscure.

Also arrested was the man supposed to have been Bratt and Guillou's main source, a former IB agent named Hakan Isacsson, who had been overcome by conscience pangs and had defected. The day before he was arrested, October 21, a letter of his was published in *Dagens Nyheter*, in which he accused Chief Prosecutor Robèrt of violating his trust. He reported that in a hearing in Robèrt's offices, he himself heard two other agents from the IB admit breaking into the Egyptian Embassy. According to Isacsson this admission was on the tape that Robèrt made of these hearings.

This phase of the story is not yet concluded. The photographer and the unnamed person have been released, while Hakan Isacsson, Peter Bratt, and Jan Guillou have been jailed and are now threatened with trial (which will probably be held behind closed doors).

The reaction to this phase of the development has been strong. Virtually all the newspapers in the country (except the rightist press) have protested against this infringement on the rights of journalists.

The political youth organizations have raised strong protests, as have large sections of the "people's movements" that are so central in Swedish political and social life (consumer cooperatives, apartment house cooperatives, trade unions, building associations, etc.). Virtually all of the leading cultural figures have disapproved of the prosecutor's actions and warned that democratic rights are in danger in the country.

Finally, the powerful Social Democratic party is threatened with an internal crisis over the IB question. The leading organs of the Social Democratic press have openly criticized the government's action. The biggest Social Democratic organization in the country, the Stockholm Arbetarkommun (Workers Collective) has issued a statement demanding a parliamen-

tary investigation of the whole affair. The resolution was approved in spite of a direct appeal from the party leadership and an hour-long speech by the former minister of defense, Sven Andersson.

Workers collectives throughout the country have voted similar resolutions. The mood in the factories is obviously very critical of the government's irregular conduct, and the authorities' countermove has increased the confusion rather than quieting the opposition.

Today *Folket i Bild* has managed to rally a large part of democratic and petty-bourgeois opinion in the country behind its demand for a parliamentary inquiry. They have also won over a large part of the Social Democratic rank and file to supporting this demand. On November 13, the Social Democratic evening paper *Aftonbladet* published letters from workers to Premier Palme on the IB case. They were representative of the

have attracted attention—support for the liberation movement in Africa, verbal support for the NLF in Vietnam and criticism of the U.S. war, aid to Chile and asylum for Comrade Hugo Blanco.

But these progressive political moves have definite limits. Despite the presence of a very strong Vietnam movement, the Swedish government has, for example, consistently refused to recognize the PRG as the government of Southern Vietnam. But the Swedish foreign policy has other features that are more negative and must be considered in an overall assessment of the government's policy. Let me give a few examples.

(1) An official study has recently shown that in proportion to its population Sweden exports more capital than any other country in the world. Investment and corporate expansion abroad is increasing at a record rate. The favorite countries for setting up foreign affiliates are countries under



Palestinian guerrilla training camp. Agent provocateur visited such camps posing as supporter of Palestinian struggle. One camp he went to was later raided by Israeli army, which received information from Swedish spy agency.

state of opinion in the country.

"I think that many of the older, proper Social Democrats are deeply disillusioned," a woman wrote. "It is not just the youth who have lost their confidence [in the party]. . . . We are disturbed and shocked." Another Social Democrat, a man in Linköping, wrote: "My wife and I are 65 and ever since we were old enough to register, we have voted for the SAP. We have followed all the articles about the IB tangle and have decided that a five-party investigating committee must be set up if the SAP is not to lose its credibility altogether."

How Progressive Is Sweden?

Sweden has a good reputation abroad. Its progressive social welfare policy and the long tradition of class collaboration have made it an ideal for capitalists all over Europe. It is a country where the trade-union movement is completely subservient to the government and makes no trouble, a country where strikes are forbidden by law, a "mixed economy" where 98 percent of industry is privately owned and corporate taxes are the lowest in the world. In today's conditions, what more could a capitalist want?

But Sweden has also been something of an ideal in the eyes of progressive public opinion. In its foreign policy, the Swedish government has made a number of progressive moves that

reactionary rule: Portugal, the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Brazil, and Colombia, to give a few examples. In particular, Latin America has been a popular area for Swedish corporate expansion. The far left here customarily describes Sweden as "a small but hungry imperialist country."

(2) Despite its support for the Allende regime, Sweden refused to pay for the copper it bought from Chile. When the copper mines were nationalized, the American "owner," Kennecott, called on the recipient countries not to pay the Chilean government. In Europe, several countries, France among others, ignored this demand and paid. One of the few that obeyed the U.S. embargo was Sweden.

(3) Although the Swedish government officially condemned the U.S. war in Vietnam, the Swedish corporations have been permitted to export war materiel to the United States, including products that are known to be used in Vietnam.

These and similar actions give a considerably darker picture of Swedish policy. It should be taken into account, moreover, that the Swedish bureaucracy functions entirely independently of the legislative branch.

There is virtually no political supervision of this apparatus. Its power is explained by the fact that Sweden has never undergone a bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie came to power through an understanding with the

state bureaucracy, which it granted relative independence from the parliament. These relationships still continue, despite forty years of Social Democratic government. The tendency now is toward a marked increase in the independence of the executive branch.

There were two institutions that did make it possible to keep a certain check on the bureaucracy: the ombudsmen [independent special investigators for handling complaints against bureaucratic actions] and the *inviolability of the press*. We have seen the latter gutted in the IB affair. The former, the role of the ombudsmen, was gutted in a court case in the spring, which also had a clear political character.

Thus, Swedish democracy has been eroded with extraordinary rapidity this year. That these two cases coming at this time was no coincidence is shown by the fact that in this same period the government has proposed a new basic law that no longer includes democratic rights (i.e., the right to demonstrate, the right of expression, the right of assembly). Its backers openly motivated the new law by saying that the different conditions today require quick action.

A basic law can only be changed by two successive Riksdag votes with a general election intervening. If democratic rights and liberties are not protected by the fundamental law, the authorities can wipe them out by simple administrative action.

At the same time, the Swedish police apparatus has been strongly reinforced. The Swedish bureaucracy is operating with considerably more self-assurance now than previously, and it is characteristic that it is precisely the prosecutors that are getting directly involved with political questions. It might be noted here that in the crisis of the 1930s the Swedish bureaucracy assumed similar independence. From 1933 to the end of the second world war, the Swedish bureaucracy collaborated closely with Nazi Germany. The Swedish security police exchanged material with the Gestapo.

It was the Swedish bureaucracy that suggested to Nazi Germany that it put the Star of David on the passports of German Jews so that they could block Jewish immigration to Sweden (this sensational piece of information was turned up by scholarly research in the spring). When the Spanish civil war broke out, a special law was passed that prevented volunteers from going to Spain. The 500 Swedes who went to fight on the republican side anyway were jailed when they returned home. They had to remain there for the better part of the war.

Despite forty years of Social Democratic government in Sweden, the power of the bureaucracy has not been curbed. In this area we have never had a bourgeois democratic revolution. The reactionary Swedish bureaucracy conducts its own policy, which is far to the right of the official line. The executive branch drags the legislative in its tow. In periods of crisis such as the present, this state apparatus can cut itself loose from its democratic facade.

All this points to an approaching political crisis in Sweden. It is not unlikely that it will even lead to a split in the Social Democratic party, although this perspective is not an immediate one.

Dr. Morgentaler explains victory for abortion rights

[The following are excerpts from an interview with Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Québec physician who was tried last November on charges of performing an illegal abortion. Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted, and since the trial has been performing abortions in his Montréal clinic, declaring they are now legal unless proved otherwise.

[Morgentaler, a staunch defender of the right of women to abortion, based his defense on Article 45 of the Canadian Criminal Code, which protects a doctor from prosecution if the medical act was performed with "reasonable care and skill" and for the health of the patient.

[The acquittal calls into question the Canadian abortion law, which prohibits termination of pregnancy unless a committee of doctors approves it as necessary to safeguard the health of the woman.

[The right to abortion is not yet won in Canada, however. The government has appealed the acquittal to a higher court, and Morgentaler still faces trial on twelve similar charges.

[The interview, conducted by Lis Angus, appeared in the December 17 issue of the Canadian Trotskyist bi-weekly *Labor Challenge*.]

Q: How do you see the significance of your acquittal?

A: I'm not sure I can answer that—my bail conditions impose certain restrictions on me.

Q: All right. Why don't we start, then, by outlining the restrictions you are under.

A: I am not allowed to speak either about the twelve charges which have

abortions under these conditions.

What *would* make a difference is to repeal the abortion law altogether, and to establish specialized abortion clinics across the country. This is why I offered my clinic to the provincial government to train doctors and nurses in the newest and safest methods of abortion.

Q: How do you see that your case—and the acquittal—relate to the general struggles for women's rights?

A: The acquittal was a tremendous victory. An all-French jury—all of them Catholics—basically agreed with the proposition that an abortion done by a doctor in the interests of a patient is not subject to the law. It was a recognition that abortion is a private matter not subject to the law.

I also think it shows the emancipation of the French Canadian masses from the yoke of the Catholic church and its dogmatic values. I think it is a sign of the tremendous loss of power which the Catholic church is beginning to suffer.

Q: What do you think of the role of the government in relation to your prosecution and in relation to abortion rights in general?

A: The government is under pressure from what I call the CCP's—the "Crusaders for Compulsory Pregnancy."

The government has shown a callous disregard for the rights of women; its indifference to the suffering of women borders on the criminal. The federal government has direct moral responsibility for the deaths, injuries and anguish suffered by women in Canada who are unable to obtain legal abortions and are exposed to



Labor Challenge

Dr. Morgentaler received support from both women's movement and labor movement, especially in Quebec.

not yet come to trial, or about the case which has been tried and which is now being appealed. I also may not give press conferences, or be interviewed on radio or television. But they forgot to tell me not to speak to representatives of the press individually—which I am doing—or not to speak at public meetings—which I am also doing.

But further on the significance of the acquittal—I don't believe that even if the acquittal is upheld, the recognition of Article 45 will make much difference. The onus is still on the doctor to prove that Article 45 applies—he has to face prosecution, a trial, a possible jail sentence, and the stress attendant on all of these. I don't foresee that many more doctors will do

the dangers attendant upon either late abortion (caused by red tape and legal restrictions) or back-alley abortions.

It is high time that progressive forces make it clear that the majority of Canadians are in favor of repeal of the laws and will not forgive the government for not acting.

Q: What kind of support have you been receiving?

A: I have been getting tremendous support from all over the country. There are Morgentaler defense committees in all major cities. I have been getting support from the NDP, from some MP's and doctors, from women's groups, and from organizations like the Humanists and the Unitarians.

World news notes

Worker leaders sentenced in Spain

The Public Order Tribunal in Spain on December 29 announced savage sentences of twelve to twenty years imprisonment for ten worker leaders accused of "illicit association." The ten were arrested in June 1972 for being members of the coordinating committee of the underground workers commissions, set up in opposition to the government-controlled unions.

The trial was observed by an international delegation of 23 labor leaders, journalists, and lawyers. The delegation issued a statement declaring solidarity with the efforts of the defendants to assert their right to freely associate to defend workers' interests.

The severity of the sentences was seen as the government's answer to the December 20 assassination of Spanish Premier Luis Carrero Blanco. Carrero was to be the successor to 81-year-old Francisco Franco, who has ruled since the end of the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s.

The assassination was admitted, and described in detail, by four hooded men at a news conference December 28 in Bordeaux, France. The four said they were members of one of the Basque nationalist groups named ETA (initials of the Basque words for Basque Nation and Freedom) but that none of the ETA members who had been named as suspects by the Spanish police were involved in the deed.

The ETA members said the assassination was to protest the recent killings of nine ETA members by police and the holding of scores of Basque political prisoners by the Spanish regime.

Despite the justice of their demands, the killing of Carrero has in no way helped the struggle for political freedom in Spain. Franco named former interior minister Carlos Arias Navarro to replace Carrero. Arias, an extreme rightist who was Spain's security police chief from 1957 to 1965, is expected to step up the brutal repression against the workers movement.

The assassination occurred at a time of rising political ferment in Spain. More than 10,000 miners were on strike in the Asturias. Radical priests received widespread popular support two months ago when they went on a hunger strike to protest conditions in the prison where they were being held. Further protests followed the arrest of 113 political figures called the Assembly of Catalonia who were meeting in a church.

Green Berets in the Philippines

U.S. Green Berets are now conducting "training exercises" in the Philippines, aiding the martial law regime of President Ferdinand Marcos.

An Associated Press dispatch from the Philippines December 30 said, "The United States Congress has warned against providing aid to the Philippines in such a way as to give the impression that the Americans are helping to impose authoritarian rule here." The Democratic and Republican politicians are obviously worried about both antiwar sentiment in the United States and anti-American sentiment among the people of the Philippines.

The report says that the opposition press in the Philippines has noted "the Green Berets' reputation for clandestine operations," and that some residents had become convinced that the Green Berets were engaged in building a secret military airstrip.

Columnist Clayton Fritchey noted in the December 29 *New York Post* that per capita income has decreased in the Philippines from \$250 to \$150 since 1966, when Marcos took over. Profits are soaring, however.

The Philippines Corporate Information Center reports that many American companies make their biggest profits in the Philippines. According to Fritchey, the Ford Motor Company, for example, had an average return of 11.8 percent on operations in 133 countries in 1971. Ford's return in the Philippines was 121 percent.

Protests in South Korea continue

Opposition religious and political figures in South Korea have launched a campaign to collect one million signatures on a petition demanding a new constitution that would assure democratic rights. The present martial law constitution grants President Park Chung Hee dictatorial powers, such as the right to appoint one-third of the National Assembly.

Although the universities are now closed for winter vacation, political ferment has continued in the wake of the student demonstrations of last October and November. On December 7 Park ordered the immediate release of all students arrested during the two months of demonstrations and the reinstatement of those expelled from school for protest activities.

The previous day, the minister of culture and information announced an end to interference with the press and media by the hated Korean Central Intelligence Agency. These concessions were designed to placate the students and keep the protests from spilling over from the campuses and involving wider layers of the South Korean population.

The reaction of one student released from jail was: "We will have to wait and see whether our demands will be fully met." The students, emboldened by the regime's concessions, are expected to continue their demands for democracy when schools open again in March.

2,000 attend rally for Wounded Knee defense

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL—A crowd of 2,000 turned out for a rally in an impressive show of support for leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) who are on trial here for their participation in last year's Wounded Knee, S.D., occupation.

The rally was held Jan. 7 at the University of Minnesota.

Dennis Banks, one of the defendants, set the tone for the gathering.

"If I am guilty of any crime," said Banks, "I would say that I am guilty of being born an Indian in this time, in this age."

"The real criminals in this country," he added, "are the people with the power." The crowd applauded loudly.

Banks and Russell Means face a 10-count federal indictment, which their lawyers say is merely a cover for the government's real purpose: the destruction of AIM.

Indeed, partial revelations this week indicated that the prosecution has gone to considerable effort to sabotage AIM and prevent a fair trial.

William Kunstler and Mark Lane, two of AIM's attorneys, charged at a news conference that federal agents engaged in a systematic effort last year to buy off witnesses. Arrested persons were asked to become informants against AIM, Lane said.

"We have a statement from a person who was asked by the FBI to inform upon his mother, who was in Wounded Knee at the time," said Lane.

The defense is expected to file a motion detailing this charge along with another allegation that the legal team had been infiltrated. Lane said lawyers who had been working with defense attorneys in South Dakota have since been hired away by the state government.

Vernon Bellecourt, an AIM leader, said the defense is contending that those lawyers are now feeding information to state officials.

The wind-chill index, a measure of the combined effects of temperature and wind on skin, stood at 40 below zero on Jan. 8, the opening day of the trial, as several dozen AIM supporters picketed the court house in St. Paul.

Inside, maximum security prevailed. People were frisked twice before being allowed to enter the court room.

Judge Fred Nichol read the charges, which include burglary, assaulting federal officers, and conspiracy. He then began interviewing prospective jurors, using some of the questions supplied to him by defense attorneys.

The defense is placing special weight on jury selection. Kunstler maintained at the Jan. 7 rally that jurors "no longer believe any of the lies" of government prosecutors, as evidenced by the recent acquittals of Daniel Ellsberg, Angela Davis, the Gainesville Eight, and others.

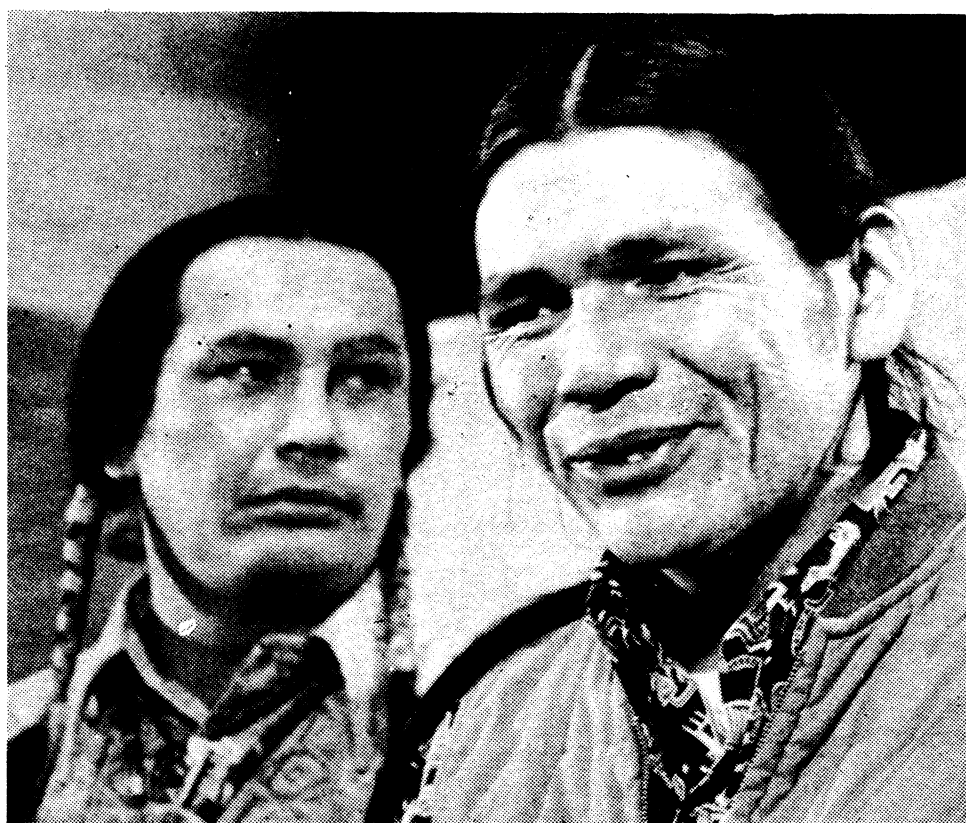
Kunstler said that if the jury is fairly selected, "there is no reason why the jurors in the Wounded Knee trial will act any differently." He is optimistic about acquittal: "They [juries] understand they are dealing with criminal governments."

A crucial focus of the trial will be the 1868 treaty signed at Fort Laramie by representatives of the Sioux nation and the U. S. government.

Defendant Russell Means told *The Militant* that the treaty makes the government the trespasser during the Wounded Knee confrontation last year rather than the Indians. "Our land is inviolate from outside forces, be it the U. S. government or any other power," Means said.

That land, including the Black Hills and extensive water rights, has since been stolen from the Sioux, Means observed, and his people have not been compensated.

Means announced this week that he would be resigning his membership in AIM in order to spend full time



Defendants Russell Means (left) and Dennis Banks face frame-up charges for 1973 Wounded Knee occupation.

on his campaign for tribal chairman of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. He said, however, that this implied no criticism of AIM and that he continues to support AIM.

While AIM wants to focus the trial on the centuries of oppression Indians have faced in the U. S., it is not known if the court will permit it.

The defense contends, with good reason, that it is necessary to introduce the treaty to show the motivation behind the Indians' decision to go to Wounded Knee last year.

The government, which hopes the judge and jury will ignore the scores of broken treaties, will argue that the issue is strictly a criminal matter and that the political questions have no bearing.

That logic is likely to cement the view that the trial is little more than a frame-up.

Already the government has managed to tie up AIM in what may amount to years of litigation. Following the trial of Banks and Means, four more Indian leaders will face a string of federal indictments in St. Paul. On trial will be Clyde Bellecourt, Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, and Stan Holder.

Meanwhile, in March, trials are expected to begin in Sioux Falls, S.D., for other Indian activists arrested at Wounded Knee.

Indictments could total 300 before the government completes its dragnet. Twenty-four more persons were indicted in Sioux Falls Dec. 19.

Senate report: 8 giants control U.S. business

Six Eastern banks and two brokerage houses dominate or control most of the largest U. S. corporations. This is the central conclusion of two Senate subcommittees whose findings were reported in the Jan. 6 *Washington Post*.

The report of the Senate subcommittees is described by *Post* staff writer Morton Mintz. The report could be the most important examination of corporate stock ownership in the United States undertaken in the post-war period.

According to Mintz, who is also one of the authors of *America, Inc.*, the subcommittees examined 324 of the largest U. S. corporations, from banks to food retailers. The investigators found, if they didn't already know, that there are no laws compelling corporations to tell the government who

owns them. Only 89 of these 324 companies responded fully to the queries. Among those refusing to cooperate were Exxon and Texaco.

Nevertheless, despite this incomplete information, the subcommittees were able to conclude that most big U. S. corporations (including those that refused to respond to their questions) are controlled by eight financial institutions. Mintz listed them:

- Five New York City banks, which together manage investment portfolios valued at the end of 1972 at \$84.5 billion: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Bankers Trust Co., First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank, and Bank of New York.

- State Street Bank & Trust Co. of Boston.

- Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, the brokerage house.

- Cede & Co., the 'street name' [a device to camouflage ownership] for the nominee of the Stock Clearing Corp., which in turn, is totally owned by the New York Stock Exchange. Cede represents Exchange members. . . .

These findings confirm a central tenet of Marxism against all of Marx's detractors. This is the law that as long as capitalism exists, the ownership and control of banks and industry will become centralized into the hands of fewer and fewer gigantic trusts.

School children are taught that while there used to be "robber barons" and financial empires in the nineteenth century, they died out in this century, supposedly because of antitrust laws and other reasons.

The truth, as these subcommittees findings hint, is far different. Those empires founded in the nineteenth century that survived into the twentieth grew richer and more powerful as U. S. imperialism triumphed in two murderous world wars and as the octopus of U. S. monopoly spread its tentacles over the globe.

The banks listed above are none other than the financial cornerstones of the empires of the Rockefeller family, J. P. Morgan & Co. partners, and the other most powerful sectors of Eastern U. S. capital. For, as the subcommittees' report indicates, it is not the banks themselves, nor the two brokerage houses, that directly own

the controlling stock. These financial institutions are merely repositories of the controlling stocks that are held in trust.

In the case of Cede, for example, Mintz writes: "The ultimate owners of stock represented by Cede are mostly undisclosed. The extent to which Cede actually votes shares is uncertain, the report said."

In other words, the government committees still could not penetrate beyond the financial institutions to the actual ruling-class families themselves.

However, the central fact stands out, from even this brief glimpse of the report, that the rule of U. S. business is centralized in the hands of a few mighty monopolies—today more than ever before. In one example of several he cited, Mintz wrote that "the largest single stockholder in Mobil Oil in 1972 was Bankers Trust, which had voting rights to 6.1 per cent of Mobil's common stock. Chase Manhattan ranked second with 5.2 per cent. Morgan Guaranty was fifth with 2.9 per cent."

Thus it is not only the oil trusts but the ruling class banks that lie behind them that are raking the American people over the coals in the energy squeeze. The Senate subcommittees' findings add new data in the fight against these monopolies supporting the urgent need for nationalizing U. S. industry and replacing the rule of the rich few by the rule of the working millions.

Merrill Lynch is bullish on America.



. . . in other words, they're leading the stampede for profits

Radical critiques of traditional psychology

Radical Psychology. Edited by Phil Brown. Harper Colophon Books. New York, 1973. 548 pp. Paper \$2.95.

In the course of the radicalization over the past decade, many of the assumptions of traditional psychology and psychiatric practices have come under attack. This anthology provides an excellent panorama of the different approaches and criticisms that comprise this attack.

Traditional psychological theories view the individual and his or her problems in virtual isolation from the rest of society, while at the same time demanding that the patient conform to capitalist society's definition of "normalcy." In clear distinction, most of the selections in this book see the mental problems of the individual as caused primarily by social environment.

Books

Phil Brown states in his preface, "Psychological manipulation pervades all areas of society, not only through the use of 'skills' and 'techniques,' but through the conveyance of oppressive behavior to the oppressed themselves, and through the use of psychology as an ideology for the defense of the status quo."

Brown also condemns the widespread use of electroshock, lobotomies, and involuntary "behavior modification" programs that try to "cure" the patient by removing the "deviant behavior."

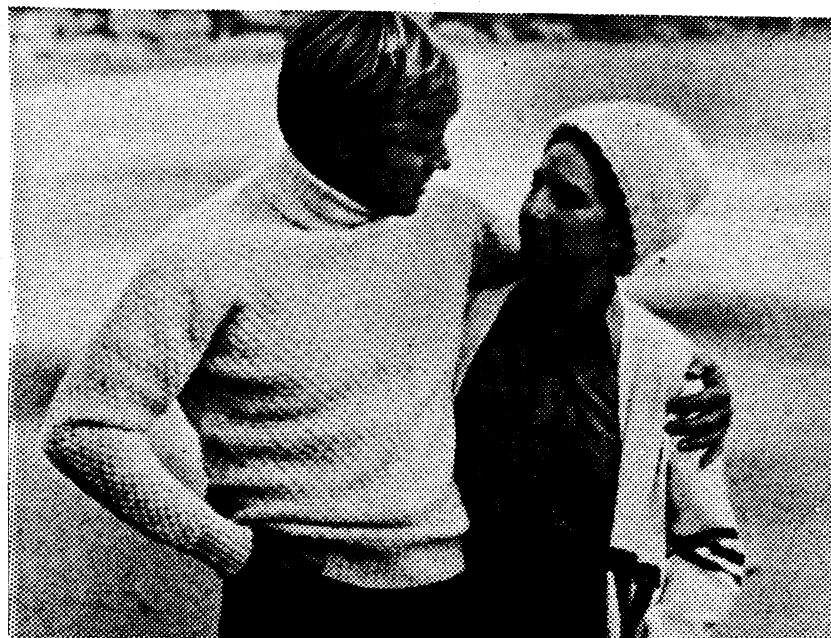
The selections by Thomas Szasz, Erving Goffman, and Thomas Scheff deal with the misconceptions of mental illness that stigmatize individuals as "ill" or "schizophrenic," clouding over the particular family or social roots of the problem.

Attacks on the restrictive sex roles used by most psychiatrists as their norms appear in articles by Naomi Weisstein, Nancy Henley, the Radicalesbians, and in the "Gay Liberation Manifesto."

The section titled "The Marxist Foundation" includes essays on "Alienated Labor" by Karl Marx; "The Sexual Struggle of Youth" by Wilhelm Reich; and "The So-Called Dependency Complex in Colonized People" by Frantz Fanon.

Those grouped around the label of "antipsychiatry"—R.D. Laing, David Cooper, and others—are attempting to move in the general direction of a scientific and humane approach to mental illness. While many of their writings are clouded by existentialism and mysticism, their research into the effects of the family and society on the individual provides valuable groundbreaking.

—ERNEST HARSCH



'The Way We Were'

The Way We Were. Starring Barbara Streisand and Robert Redford. Columbia Pictures.

How much will you give up to hold on to the person you love? Katie Morosky and Hubbell Gardiner confront this question in three different settings—college in the thirties, wartime New York, and postwar Hollywood. What makes *The Way We Were* so unusual is that each time the pivot is politics. Katie's politics.

When Katie and Hubbell first meet during their senior year at college, it's difficult to imagine two people more different from each other. Katie's a political dynamo, president of the campus chapter of the Young Communist League, an indefatigable supporter of the Soviet Union and Republican Spain. Hubbell, on the other hand, is the campus superstar—indifferent to politics in general and faintly mocking toward Katie's Stalinist brand.

Yet Katie, for all her political dedication, envies Hubbell's easy-going charm and sexual attractiveness. At the same time, Hubbell is drawn by her determination and impassioned outrage at injustice, something he has never felt.

They spar with each other the few times they meet on campus, but never go out.

Film

The next time they meet is in 1944. Katie has changed quite a bit; Hubbell not at all. Politics no longer seems to be the immediate barrier between them it once was, especially since the CP's line is to back the capitalist war effort to the hilt. If anything, Katie's more pro-Roosevelt than Hubbell.

She's no longer the frizzy-haired outcast, either. She goes to Harlem regularly to have her hair straightened and works for the Pentagon, editing propaganda scripts for the Army radio network.

They go out together as often as possible when Hubbell's in New York (Katie skips party meetings to do it) and pick up where they left off in college. Hubbell still has the same friends he had then, and Katie still hates them. Not only are they stupid and boring but now they joke about Roosevelt and the war, too.

When one of them makes a crack about FDR, calling him the "Yaltese Falcon," and another tells the current Eleanor Roosevelt joke, Katie blows up, making a scene that nearly finishes off her relationship with Hubbell.

But the thought of losing him scares her to the point of promising to change, to compromise, which she tries to do. Unsuccessfully. Even though they eventually marry and go to Hollywood after the war to work, it turns out to be impossible to push politics to the back burner.

When the postwar witch-hunt begins and Congress starts looking for "subversives" in the movie industry, Hubbell runs for cover. Convinced that it's impossible to fight the witch-hunters, he offers to make whatever script changes the producers demand. Katie can't buy it; while he rewrites his screenplays she joins a committee to defend the Hollywood 10, a group of screenwriters accused of being "reds."

The choice had finally become unavoidable. If she stayed on the committee, his job was in danger; if she quit, good-bye self-respect and everything she believed in. It's Hubbell that gets the gate.

They meet one last time, in New York, 10 years later. Katie is handing out "Ban the Bomb" leaflets. They say hello, he asks about their daughter, and they part—both recognizing they had lost something they wanted very much but could not have.

The film skates on thin ice from start to finish, never far from falling into soap opera schmaltz, but in my opinion it succeeds. Katie and Hubbell are believable people. The film is a first-rate treatment of what happens when politics cuts across a human relationship.

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Nonsexist children's literature

Firegirl by Gibson Rich. Children's Series, The Feminist Press. Old Westbury, N.Y. \$1.95.

Ira Sleeps Over by Bernard Waber. Houghton-Mifflin Company. Boston, 1972. \$4.95.

These two books defy traditional sex roles and are excellent examples of a new trend in children's literature.

Firegirl is about Brenda, an eight-year-old who wants to be a firefighter. But her father quickly dampens her hopes by telling her: "... girls can't be firemen. That's just the way things are, honey. Maybe you can marry a fireman."

Brenda doesn't settle for that solution. She visits a firehouse and shows she is not just an admirer of shiny fire engines but has learned how the equipment functions.

While on this visit, Brenda has a chance to put into practice her firefighting ability and become something of a heroine. This is the story of a

Books

girl's aspirations and her refusal to be cowed by her father or the formidable "angry walrus" fire chief.

Just as the ambitions of girls are generally stifled at an early age, so boys are taught to shun gentleness or sensitivity for fear of appearing weak or "feminine." Not so in *Ira Sleeps Over*.

Ira is elated that he is going to spend his first night away from home at the house of his pal Reggie. That is, he's elated until his sister asks him if he's going to take his teddy bear, which he always sleeps with. "You never slept without your teddy bear before," she reminds him.

Ira doesn't want Reggie to think he's a baby, so he goes alone. After the boys turn out the lights, Reggie weaves a ghostly tale, frightening himself so much that he stealthily gets up and goes to his bureau drawer to extract something closely resembling a teddy bear. Ira takes a trip back home, gets his bear, and tells his sister confidently, "Reggie won't laugh."

These books are two examples of how the publishing industry has begun to respond to pressure from women for literature that doesn't distort their children's images of themselves or reality.

—MARTHA HARRIS



Militant/Howard Petrick

HISTORY OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

TROTSKY ANSWERS THE CAPITULATORS

Third of a series

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Left Oppositionists in exile in remote areas of the Soviet Union watched closely the evolution of Stalin's "left course," with its hesitations and vacillations. They had been fighting for a policy of industrialization for five years, and when Stalin finally embarked on the course of all-out industrialization at the end of 1928, they saw this as a vindication of their position.

The Oppositionists were eager to participate in the work of industrialization, but Stalin could not afford

brazhensky, Radek, and Smilga, led 400 others in repudiating their ideas and begging for readmission to the party.

They were answered in a statement signed by 500 Oppositionists scattered in some 90 places of exile. Those who held firm included Rakovsky, Sosnovsky, Muralov, and Mdivani. Nevertheless, in November another group of several hundred Oppositionists, led by I.N. Smirnov, Mrachkovsky, and Byeloborodov, also capitulated.

From his exile in Turkey, Trotsky pointed out that the only argument of the capitulators was the industrial-

any other from the twists and turns of the last six years: the stubborn, systematic, tireless suffocation of the party.

"The party is the selection of ideas. It remains a party only so long as the voluntary tie of ideas lies at its basis. But what meaning can ideas and principles retain, if the leaders of the party alternately renounce themselves, and the impersonal idea-less apparatus not only asserts its infallibility, once and for all, but even declares openly to the party: 'Us you can remove only through civil war!' (Stalin in 1927.)"



Members of the Left Opposition on their way to exile in 1928. Seated left to right: Serebriakov, Radek, Trotsky, Boguslavsky, Preobrazhensky. Standing left to right: Rakovsky, Drobnis, Beloborodov, Sosnovsky.

to allow their return to the party as a group that had been proved correct. He was still in the process of isolating and defeating the Right Opposition, and his personal rule had been built by suppressing democratic discussion and presenting the leadership as infallible. The weakening of that claim would have led inexorably to the challenging of the bureaucratic regime in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Therefore, while implementing in a distorted way many of the slogans originally raised by the Left Opposition, Stalin redoubled the persecution of the Oppositionists. He hoped to force sections of the Left Opposition to recant, thus weakening its appeal and strengthening his own position. Those who wanted to rejoin the party were told to repudiate their past activity and affirm that the policy of the Central Committee had been right all along.

As the "left course" gathered momentum, a growing section of the Left Opposition became "conciliators." They argued that the differences between the Opposition and Stalin were narrowing and losing their importance, and that the humiliation of repudiating their ideas was a small price to pay for readmission into the party.

The mood of the conciliators was expressed by I.N. Smirnov, who said, "I can't stand inactivity. I want to build! In its own barbaric and sometimes stupid way, the Central Committee is building for the future. Our ideological differences are of small importance before the construction of great new industries."

It wasn't long before the conciliators became capitulators. In July 1929 three leaders of the Opposition, Preo-

ization planned by Stalin, but that this policy had been decided on only after the five-year struggle of the Left Opposition. Without that struggle, the right-wing policy advocated by Bukharin would have been continued. In addition, other policies just as bad were sure to be implemented by the bureaucratic leadership in the future.

"The central question," Trotsky wrote, "is not the figures of the bureaucratic five-year plan themselves but the question of the party as the main weapon of the proletariat. The party regime is not something autonomous: it expresses and reinforces the party's political line. . . . In this sense, the party regime is, for a Marxist, an indispensable control over the political line. . . ."

The capitulators had given up the struggle against the bureaucratic apparatus dominating the party. By accepting Stalin's reactionary theories and methods they were abandoning the struggle for a revolutionary theory and leadership. By doing this they were giving up the idea that a revolutionary party would be needed to lead in the construction of socialism.

Furthermore, the capitulators were abandoning the perspective of international revolution. The struggle of the Left Opposition had been directed not simply against the Stalin-Bukharin economic policy but just as much against the theory of "socialism in one country," the bureaucratic regime in the Communist International (Comintern), and the disastrous policies and theories advanced during the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and the British general strike of 1926.

In a later article on the lessons of the capitulations Trotsky wrote, "One lesson, one conclusion flows before

While many of the capitulators deceived themselves about the possibilities for carrying out a struggle against the bureaucracy at some later date, and others were genuinely convinced that Stalin was going to carry out the program of the Left Opposition, there were many who were simply worn down by the repression. Trotsky estimated in 1929 that at least 15,000 to 20,000 members had been expelled from the CPSU as Left Oppositionists.

"Among them," he wrote, "were not a few accidental, young, and immature elements. Also not a few old, worn-out elements. Deported, the members of the Opposition find themselves in terrible conditions of most complete isolation. Their families are in a state of total destitution. Ideological separation, political isolation, and material oppression cannot fail to provoke their effects of decomposition. . . ."

International Left Opposition

Although the Left Opposition was dealt a heavy blow by the defections inside the Soviet Union, by this time it was organized on an international scale. One of Trotsky's first actions after arriving in Turkey in February 1929 was to make contact with the various groups around the world that had been expelled from the Communist parties and had declared their support for the Russian Opposition.

In Trotsky's view the work of elaborating a coherent revolutionary alternative to Stalinism and developing a political movement based on these ideas could only be accomplished on an international scale. Although Trotsky had begun his struggle inside the Soviet Union, he had dealt from the beginning with international issues. "Only an international organization

can be the bearer of an international ideology," he insisted.

On April 6, 1930, representatives of the French, United States, German, Belgian, Spanish, Italian, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian Oppositions, and of a Jewish oppositional group in France, met in Paris and decided to establish the International Left Opposition as a faction of the Comintern. As with the Russian Opposition, their aim was to reform the official Communist movement, not to build new parties. The Russian, Chinese, Austrian, Mexican, Argentine, and Greek Oppositions, which were unable to attend the meeting, endorsed the steps taken.

The International Left Opposition (ILO) faced a number of difficult problems from the outset. First of all, it consisted for the most part of tiny groups. The largest, in Spain and Greece, were approaching 2,000 members by the end of 1932. In other countries the sections of the ILO numbered in the hundreds, or even in the tens.

In addition, these groups were not homogeneous. Groups of Communists had been expelled from the parties of the Comintern throughout the period of its Stalinization in the middle and late 1920s. Some of those expelled had been supporters of the Joint Opposition formed by Trotsky and Zinoviev in 1926; others had been supporters of the Right Opposition led by Bukharin. Still others had objected to the bureaucratic practices in the Comintern without formulating any alternative political program to Stalin's.

Platform of the ILO

"In almost every country," wrote Trotsky in March 1929, "there are two and even three groups that proclaim their solidarity with the Left Opposition of the CPSU. This is a reaction to the insane and criminal regime established in the Communist International since the autumn of 1923 and which has aimed to transform the world party of the proletariat into a caricature jesuitical order."

An example of this fragmentation was the situation in France. There, in addition to a group of Yiddish-speaking Jewish workers who identified with the Left Opposition, there were also three other Trotskyist groups. In addition to them, there was a Zinovievist group led by Albert Treint, the official leader of the French CP in 1924-25. There was also a syndicalist group whose leaders, Monatte and Louzon, had joined the CP after the Russian revolution, only to be expelled during the 1920s.

Many of those who had been expelled from the Comintern were in the process of rejecting Marxism altogether but had nevertheless declared their solidarity with the Left Opposition. This posed a problem because the Opposition aspired not just to replace Stalin but to establish a revolutionary Marxist leadership at the head of the world communist movement. In this struggle its only strength was the clarity and precision of its ideas.

Therefore, the ILO demanded that its adherents agree on the issues raised by the Chinese revolution, the British general strike, the tasks of socialist construction inside the Soviet Union, and opposition to the theory of socialism in one country, as well as on the struggle against bureaucratism and for democracy in the party. The concept of an organization that would include all anti-Stalinists was rejected.

Although Trotsky stood out as the preeminent leader of the ILO, his con-

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Calendar

BOSTON

A DEBATE ON THE BOOK 'SEXUAL SUICIDE.' Speakers: Chuck Fager, of the Real Paper (pro); Jeanne Lafferty, founder of Female Liberation (con). Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

DETROIT

THE ENERGY CRISIS: FACT OR HOAX? Speakers: Bruce Kimball, industrial research analyst; Rod Holt, engineer. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

UNIONS IN THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Shelli Sonstein, Nat'l. Planning Commission of Coalition of Labor Union Women; other speaker to be announced. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near Fourth St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

DISSIDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. Speaker: Marilyn Vogt, contributor to Intercontinental Press. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE ENERGY CRISIS: FACT OR HOAX? Speakers: Richard Spohn, director, California Action Group, affiliated with Ralph Nader's Task Force; Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

SAN DIEGO

POLITICAL TRIALS IN SAN DIEGO: A REPORT ON THE DEFENSE CASES OF PETER BOHMER & SALM KOLIS. Speakers: Peter Bohmer, currently on trial as result of antiwar activity; Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

...YSA

Continued from page 6

deny the rights of the Palestinians. Only the Young Socialist Alliance waged a nationwide campaign to defend the Arab struggle against Zionism.

At a convention workshop on the Mideast, led by Mark Friedman, YSAers told of organizing teach-ins to present the position of Arabs and other anti-Zionists. One YSAer from Detroit described how the YSA helped to build an Oct. 14 demonstration there of more than 3,000 Arabs.

All the speakers felt that many more people were open to an anti-Zionist position now than during the June 1967 war.

In New York City the YSA led a successful fight for the right of supporters of the Palestinian struggle to present their views without being physically attacked by the right-wing Jewish Defense League.

Another workshop discussed how to defend the former Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, which was banned by the Pompidou government for its role in an antifascist demonstration last June.

The YSA has built demonstrations and picket lines against the ban and is now circulating petitions demanding the right of the French Trotskyists to function legally.

The YSA also discussed taking advantage of every opportunity to oppose the continuing intervention of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

Also discussed at the convention was the YSA's work in defense of African liberation struggles, such as helping to build the African Liberation Day demonstrations in 1972 and 1973. The YSA is also distributing a Young Socialist pamphlet on *The Role of the U.S. in Southern Africa*.

The readiness of the YSA to respond to new developments in the world class struggle was also shown in its solidarity with the recent struggles of Greek workers and students. The YSA has participated in demonstrations and teach-ins to support the struggle in Greece and expose the role of the U.S.

The YSA was born in the spirit of internationalism through its defense of the Cuban revolution against U.S. imperialism in the early 1960's. Its latest convention showed that it continues to be ready and willing to shoulder its responsibilities to defend revolutionary struggles around the world.

...left opp.

Continued from page 21

cept of the Opposition and its tasks was not accepted without a fight. The platform and organizational character of the ILO were clarified in a series of polemical disputes, some of which led to splits.

Trotsky wrote, "The unity of the Opposition cannot be obtained by abstract preachments of unity or by mere organizational combinations. Unity must be prepared theoretically and politically. This preparation must make clear which groups and elements

really stand on common grounds and those which list themselves among the Opposition only out of misunderstanding."

The difficulties Trotsky encountered reflected not only the small size and heterogeneity of the opposition groups, and their political isolation, but also the general demoralization and cynicism that the growth of Stalinism had engendered in the workers movement, and, finally, the ultraleft turn in the policy of the Comintern. This turn and its results will be discussed in the next article.

...energy

Continued from page 17

"exploiting a nonexistent or poorly defined crisis for its own political purposes or to serve those industrial interests it favors."

Perhaps the major reason for snowballing doubts about the extent or existence of the fuel shortage is the increasingly apparent fact that nobody—including the government—has access to the facts and figures on fuel supplies, apart from the oil monopolies themselves.

In New York, public queries about large numbers of tankers in New York harbors forced state Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz to investigate. Lefkowitz reported in a letter to U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe that 259 tankers entered New York harbors in December 1973, as compared with 270 in December the previous year. However, the tankers last month were 10 percent larger than those in 1972.

"Under such circumstances it is difficult to understand the basis for an alleged shortage last December," wrote Lefkowitz.

Lefkowitz's assistant, Charles La Torella, called the figures provided by the oil companies "gobbledygook."

New York Times reporter David Bird went out to the huge Bayway Exxon refinery in Linden, N.J., to try to get some information out of the oil executives there. He said the officials were "polite but firmly cryptic." Any clues to the energy crisis, he said, were "closely guarded secrets."

"Security is tight at the Bayway refinery here," Bird wrote. "Company policemen roam the grounds in green radio-patrol vehicles, checking people on the slightest suspicion."

In his Dec. 22 column, Jack Ander-

son reported on an unpublished study by the Center for Science in the Public Interest which, Anderson says, "shows that directors of all 18 big oil companies hold interlocking directorships, which give them enormous influence upon just about every facet of American life."

The confidential report, which Anderson says is "under lock and key in the Senate," states that "oil company directors . . . form a cozy and exclusive club" able to take "common, if not conspiratorial action. . . . Outsiders simply do not know what goes on behind the closed door."

The energy crisis, together with the Watergate revelations, is demonstrating to more and more Americans that secrecy, not democracy, is fundamental to the capitalist system. Business secrets, secret diplomacy, and secret political deals are designed to put over policies that serve the interests of the ruling rich, not the majority of working people.

...W'gate

Continued from page 24

● Representative Les Aspin (D-Wis.) reports that officials and principal stockholders of 178 oil and gas companies contributed almost \$5-million toward Nixon's reelection in 1972.

Aspin concluded from his study, "The big oil companies have Mr. Nixon in a double hammer lock. After their massive contributions there is little he can do to control them."

● The abrupt dismissal last fall of Archibald Cox as the special Watergate prosecutor was partly due to "a White House fear that a grand jury would name President Nixon as a co-conspirator, but not as a defendant, for his role in the Watergate cover-up," reports the *New York Times*.

On top of his Watergate woes, Nixon isn't winning any points in other areas either. "Simultaneously," writes the *Christian Science Monitor*, "extraneous circumstances are not getting any better: prices rising, fuel shortages extending, and the threat of recession. They form the atmospherics to the bigger drama."

The "atmospherics" that we can expect in 1974 are an intensification of the class struggle and a further disillusionment among the American people in the capitalist government and its institutions.

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THE MILITANT

79 percent agree: 'Nixon is a crook'

By LINDA JENNESS

Seventy-nine percent of the population thinks Nixon is guilty of one or more serious charges, reports the Roper organization. A poll on impeachment convinced Roper analysts that "the President would seem to have a thin hold indeed on his office in the court of public opinion."

The survey shows that 44 percent of the American people are for impeaching Nixon, while 45 percent are against impeachment.

Only 11 percent of those who oppose impeachment, however, think Nixon is innocent. The rest oppose impeachment because of what they fear would be "destructive effects" of an impeachment proceeding.

"Acceptance of both the seriousness of the charges



and the President's responsibility for them was widespread throughout all segments of the population, ranging from two-thirds up to 9 in 10," says a Roper analysis of the results. "Groups most critical of the President on the charges were young people, those in the highest income category, those living in the West, the college-educated, single people, union members, those moderately active socially and politically, and Democrats."

Another poll, taken by Gallup, shows that Nixon's popularity fell in 1973 by almost 40 percentage points, from 68 percent to 29 percent.

The Gallup poll also reports that most people think the government tries to keep too many secrets. Fifty-three percent of those polled agreed that "the Government classifies too many things as confidential."

The Roper poll was taken in early November and the Gallup poll in October, before the dis-

closure of an 18-minute gap in a key subpoenaed White House tape. As more scandals are uncovered, the number of people who think Nixon is guilty will undoubtedly increase.

And more revelations are on the way. "There are animals crashing around in the forest," says Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) when asked about the possibility of more Watergate bombshells. "I can hear them, but I can't see them."

One of the animals Baker hears is the impending confrontation over 500 White House tapes and documents subpoenaed by the Senate Watergate committee. Nixon refused to cough up the material, and the senators went back to court in an attempt to force his compliance.

Faced with this bleak picture, Nixon has abandoned his none-too-successful "Operation Candor" and reversed his plans to release summaries of secret White House materials. He has instead launched what the *New York Times* called "Operation Defiance."

Nixon is proceeding "with the underlying assumption that he has lost ground with the American people that can never be recovered," writes *Washington Post* White House correspondent Lou Cannon. A White House aide told Cannon that Nixon feels he is in a "no win position" with major newspapers and the television networks and doesn't want to risk any more public questioning on Watergate.

"The ugliest days of Watergate lie ahead," write conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. "Taking a hard line, however," they warn, "cannot stop the inexorable process now underway: grand jury indictments, trials and—most important—the House impeachment proceedings."

One group of people is not concerned with whether Nixon is a crook. That is America's businessmen. An extensive survey of businessmen led the *New York Times* to conclude that the capitalists "even though they gave their votes and money to Mr. Nixon," aren't too worried about "the question of who occupies the White House."

"Whether the President's name is Nixon or Ford, knowledgeable people profess to be unworried about the political climate for business in 1974," writes the *Times*. The businessmen tend to prefer that Nixon resign, but only in order to get the question settled. They know that no matter which capitalist politician sits in the oval office, the government will do their bidding.

The only thing the rulers of the country really care about is trying to preserve the illusions still held by most Americans that the capitalist politicians and parties can solve the burning prob-



"Well, That Was A Short Run. What's Next?"

lems facing this country.

And they do have cause to worry about that. The ITT, milk, and oil company scandals have placed big businessmen toward the top of the American people's "bad guys" list.

A recent Harris survey in which people were asked to select "types of people harmful to the country" came up with the following top three: government officials who try to use official intelligence agencies for political advantage; lawyers who knew about crimes being committed but do not report them; and businessmen who give money illegally.

And each day additional scandals are exposed:

● Wilson Lucom, a former State Department official and now a publisher of a right-wing newsletter, has been subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury to testify about a mailing list stolen from the Chilean embassy in Washington in May 1972. The robbery at the embassy occurred one month before the Watergate break-in and perhaps involved some of the same people.

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Young Socialists map '74 strategy/3

Solzhenitsyn's 'Gulag Archipelago'/14

Wounded Knee activists go on trial/19
